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EUCHAITORUM METROPOLITAE
EPISTULAE**

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**THE LETTERS OF
IOANNES MAUROPOUS
METROPOLITAN OF EUCHAITA**

GREEK TEXT, TRANSLATION, AND COMMENTARY

BY

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PREFACE

A new edition of the letters of Ioannes Mauropus with English translation and notes, I hope, needs no words of explanation or justification. Their philological and historical interest and their undeniable charm are alone grounds enough for a new edition. The project has been in the making for several years, and it has been encouraged by various friends and colleagues who helped me with their advice and assistance. The challenge to undertake an edition accompanied by a translation in a language that I can never claim to have mastered completely was not a slight one. Yet it was not only patience and stubbornness (or even the need to prove to myself that I could finish what I had once started) that kept me at work. It was also a sense of my indebtedness to several friends and colleagues who were in one or another way associated with my work. That it has come to completion is due to the fact that on various occasions these friends and colleagues made it possible for me to work for a period of time near them in libraries with better facilities than those of my own university. Accordingly, I should like to thank Professors Donald M. Nicol (London), Armin Hohlweg (Munich), Peter Schreiner (Cologne) and Paul Speck (West Berlin) for their warm hospitality while a guest at their respective universities. In this connection, I should also like to express my deepest gratitude to the Alexander von Humboldt-Stiftung for generously sponsoring my research while working at the Institutes for Byzantine Studies in Munich, Cologne and West Berlin. I am also grateful to several other friends and colleagues who generously gave time and effort to help me. I am especially indebted to Professor John Duffy who read with meticulous care the entire manuscript, correcting mistakes and making essential improvements. I am equally indebted to Professor Athanasios Kambylis for reading the Greek text with his usual thoroughness and for his scholarly advice and invaluable suggestions. I also wish to acknowledge my sincere gratitude to Professors George Dennis, S.J., and Diether Reinsch, who took time to read the manuscript of my work and provided helpful advice and criticism. In conclusion, it is a pleasure as well as a duty to express my thanks to the editor of the series, Professor Ioannes Karayannopoulos, who also took a kind interest in my work and accepted it for publication in the *Corpus Fontium*

Historiae Byzantinae, Series Thessalonicensis. Finally, thanks are due to my friend and colleague Vasilis Katsaros for devoting much time and energy to seeing this manuscript through the press.

Apostolos Karpozilos

INTRODUCTION

I. IOANNES MAUROPOUS, METROPOLITAN OF EUCHAITA

Ioannes Mauropous, Metropolitan of Euchaita, was a Paphlagonian who took pride in his land of origin (*Eps.* 9, 11) despite the low opinion in which his countrymen were held in Byzantium¹. The name Mauropous figures neither in the *Vatic. Gr.* 676, the oldest and fullest record of his writings, nor in the works of Michael Psellos. It occurs exclusively in manuscripts containing his canons². The name Mauropous, however, appears as a family name in the eleventh century and later, its members belonging to the civil and ecclesiastical aristocracy³.

That Ioannes Mauropous was not born in Constantinople but came there at an early age is clear from the explicit testimony of Michael Psellos (*Chron.* II, 65)⁴. Yet his place of birth in Paphlagonia cannot be established with certainty. Follieri⁵ suggested that Mauropous was born in Claudiopolis on the basis of one of his epigrams: Σὺ δ' εἰ θέλεις, τρίσσευε τὸν τοῦ Κλαυδίου / φθόνος γὰρ οὐδεὶς πατρικῶν γνωρισμάτων⁶. Eustratiades⁷, on the other hand, thought that

1. Οἱ ἀκραιφνεῖς ἡμεῖς Παφλαγόνες... *Epist.* 9, 12-13; also *Epist.* 11, 12-14.

2. *Vindob. Theol. Gr.* 78, f. 88r (H. Hunger - O. Kresten): Ποίημα Ἰωάννου μοναχοῦ τὸ ἐπίκλην Μαυρόποδος τοῦ ἐν ὑστέροις χρόνοις χρηματίσαντος ἀρχιερέως Εὐχαΐτων. J. Hussey, *The canons of John Mauropous*, *JRS* 37(1947) 71-72.

3. J. Darrouzès, *REB* 27(1969) 283; A. Kazhdan, *Speculum* 58(1983) 763-764; cf. also his book *Sotsial'nyy Sostav Gospodstvuyushego Klassa Vizantii XI-XIIvv*, Moscow 1974, 93, 112, 151.

4. Ἐμοὶ φιλίας μὲν ἀφορμαὶ καὶ πρὸς πολλοὺς ἐτέρουσι γεγονάσι, μάλιστα δὲ δύο τινὲ ἀνδρὲ ἐξ ἐτέρων πατρίδων τὴν σεβαστὴν Ῥώμην οἰκῆσαντε ἐν μέσαις αὐτῶν ἠρπάκασι με ταῖς ψυχαῖς. Psellos, *Chron.* II, 65, 1-4.

5. E. Follieri, *Giovanni Mauropode Otto canoni paracletici a N.S. Gesù Cristo (Archivio italiano per la storia della pietà t. V)*, Rome 1967, 6.

6. Bollig-de Lagarde, p. V.

7. S. Eustratiades, Ἰωάννης ὁ Μαυρόπουρος μητροπολίτης Εὐχαΐτων, *Ἐναισίμα Χρ. Παπαδοπούλου*, Athens 1931, 406.

the line τρῖσσευε τὸν τοῦ Κλαυδίου refers not to Mauroπους' place of birth but to the name of his father Claudius.

Psellos, in his *Encomium* for Mauroπους, omits any reference to his place of origin, evidently because he considered it unworthy of mention. He does, however, record that one of Mauroπους' two uncles, who had taken care of him in his early years, had been a metropolitan of Claudiopolis⁸. It is possible then to assume that, in the epigram where he solicits the prayers of the reader admitting his unenviable origins, Mauroπους refers to himself as a nephew of the metropolitan of Claudiopolis. It was a familiar practice in Byzantium in this period for nephews to be called by the name of a bishop uncle, when their own parents were without particular significance⁹.

Psellos says nothing about Mauroπους' parents in the *Encomium*. He refers only to a brother of Mauroπους who died at an early age¹⁰. He also, however, mentions two uncles who were ecclesiastics, one metropolitan of Claudiopolis, the other sent as a missionary to Bulgaria¹¹. The only other member of his immediate family that we know of is a nephew, Theodoros, whom Mauroπους entrusted to the care of Psellos¹². This same nephew is probably the recipient of *Ep.* 71. He was also the author of an office dedicated to the memory of Mauroπους¹³.

The year of Mauroπους' birth cannot be established with any accuracy. From a comment he makes about his age in an epigram he dedicated to the Emperor Konstantinos IX, it is deduced that he must have been born around the year 990¹⁴. When Psellos met him, sometime between 1028 and 1034, Mauro-

8. Sathas, *MB* V, 143-144. It is difficult to decide whether Mauroπους' uncle was the metropolitan of Claudiopolis Ioannes in the early eleventh century; cf. V. Laurent, *Le Corpus des Sceaux de l'Empire Byzantin*, t. V: *L'Église*, Paris 1963, n. 475.

9. The formula «ὁ τοῦ» usually indicates a nephew-uncle relationship thus ὁ τοῦ Ἀγχιάλου, for instance implies the nephew of the metropolitan of Anchialos; see V. Laurent, *Kataphloros patronyme supposé du métropolitain de Thessalonique* Eustathe, *REB* 20(1962) 220, n. 16.

10. Sathas, *MB* V, 144. In the correspondence of Psellos there is a letter addressed Τῷ κριτῇ τῶν Κυβερραιωτῶν τῷ ἀδελφῷ τοῦ Εὐχαΐτων: *Epist.* 47, Kurtz-Drexel II, 78-80. However, apart from the title of this letter, there is no evidence that its recipient had been a brother of Mauroπους.

11. Sathas, *MB* V, 143-144. I. Dujcev identified this uncle of Mauroπους with Leon of Ochrid, also a Paphlagonian; see Kazhdan, *Speculum* 58(1983) 763.

12. See *Epist.* 34 and 265, Kurtz-Drexel II, 56, 310.

13. S. G. Mercati, Ufficio di Giovanni Mauropode Euchaita composto dal nipote Teodoro, *Mémorial L. Petit*, Bucharest 1948, 347-360.

14. Karpozilos, *Μαυρόπους*, 74. For the text of the epigram *ibid.*, 71-74.

pous was already a mature man and a recognized teacher, while Psellos was a youth studying under him¹⁵. The year of Mauroπους' arrival in Constantinople likewise remains unknown. In one of his epigrams he mentions a family house in Constantinople which he had inherited and in which he taught. It was here that he passed his early years (*Epigr.* 47, 20-21)¹⁶.

Not much is known about Mauroπους' career as a teacher. His school was located in his family house which at one point he was forced to abandon¹⁷. Several of his letters are addressed to his former students and from the references he makes we can assume that he retained a lively interest in their affairs long after they had left his school (*Eps.* 17-18, 23-24, 58, 74). His involvement in the education of the young can best be seen in one of his letters to Psellos (*Ep.* 23).

About Mauroπους' own studies we know only what Psellos reports in his *Encomium*, that after completing the ἐγκύκλιος παιδεία he turned to the study of rhetoric, philosophy and law¹⁸. Nothing whatever is known about Mauroπους' teachers. The recipient of *Ep.* 20 could have been one of them but unfortunately his name is not stated in the letter. A few of his letters give us a glimpse of his ideas and of his methods as a teacher. Writing to a youth who was about to complete his ἐγκύκλιος, he advised him to study seriously and in depth (*Ep.* 74). His comments on the schedography indicate that Mauroπους had little sympathy with this method (*Ep.* 74). This impression is reinforced by his epigrams nos. 33 and 68¹⁹. In two other letters addressed to an inquisitive priest, who plagued him with various questions on grammar and biblical theology, Mauroπους shows himself as a teacher at work (*Eps.* 17-18). In his letters he is careful not to violate the canons of epistolography for he knows that, as a teacher, he should set an example to his correspondents of the rules established for letter-writing (*Ep.* 17, 153-156).

It was Psellos who finally brought Mauroπους out of obscurity. Before emerging into public life, he had followed the maxim of Epicurus — λάθε βιώσας — shunning every kind of involvement in affairs of Church and State (*Ep.* 5). What made him abandon the obscurity he enjoyed and on more than one occasion idealized is not known. Yet, he accepted Psellos' invitation and pres-

15. Ὡμίλησα γὰρ πρωθήβης ὦν ἐτι τῷ μεγάλῳ τούτῳ ἀνδρὶ, διψῶν πῶς ἂν εἴποιμι τῆς παιδείσεως... Sathas, *MB* V, 148, 4-5.

16. Bollig-de Lagarde, 25.

17. *Epigr.* 47, 22-28, Bollig-de Lagarde, 25; Mercati, Ufficio, 354.

18. Sathas, *MB*, V, 148-149.

19. Bollig-de Lagarde, 18-19, 37.

ented himself before the Emperor, Konstantinos Monomachos, with apprehension and mixed feelings²⁰. He marked the occasion by composing a long poem in which he described his encounter with the Emperor (*Epigr.* 54)²¹. The event must have occurred some time after 1043.

This was not, however, Mauropous' first encounter with the ruling class or for that matter with the imperial household. He seems previously to have had some acquaintance with the family of the Emperor Michael IV, the Paphlagonian (1034-1041). One of his epigrams describes an icon of the Saviour given as a votive offering by the *protovestiaros* Georgios, the brother of Michael IV (*Epigr.* 26)²².

Nevertheless, Mauropous persistently avoided becoming involved in public life, rejecting any offers made to him. One such offer is described in *Ep.* 5, one of his earliest letters. It concerns a request that he should enter the patriarchal chancellery as a *chartophylax*. Such an appointment would have been no mean distinction. Exactly when this offer was made is nowhere documented in the sources.

Vague references to Mauropous' monastic career before his appointment to the see of Euchaita are made by Psellos in the *Encomium*²³. The date which Lyubarsky²⁴ proposes for Mauropous' entry into a monastery in the late 1030's is not proven. *Codex Monḗ Λειμώνος* 43 claims him as a monk of the monastery of Saint John the Baptist of Petra. For the founder of this monastery, Saint Baras, Mauropous composed an encomium, the text of which is only in part preserved²⁵.

Although there is no reason to believe that he ever stopped teaching, Mauropous was persuaded by Psellos to give up the quiet life of a monk and to

20. Οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἐκείνῳ βουλευμένῳ εὐθὺς προσίεσθαι τῷ αὐτοκράτορι. Psellos, *Chron.*, II, 66, 17-18.

21. Ὅτε πρῶτον ἐγνωρίσθη τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν, *Epigr.* 54, Bollig-de Lagarde, 28-32.

22. Bollig-de Lagarde, 12. About the *protovestiaros* Georgios, see Scylitzes, ed. Thurn, 397, 400, 417.

23. Sathas, MB V, 163: Προκέκληται γὰρ καὶ οὗτος ὑπὸ τοῦ λόγου καὶ τῆς ἐπωμίδος καὶ πρὸ τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης ἤξιεται καὶ κέχρισται τῷ ἐλαίῳ τῆς χάριτος. See also *Epist.* 105, Kurtz-Drexler II, 135, 12 ff.

24. Lyubarsky, *Mikhail Psell.* 43.

25. The attribution of this work to Mauropous has been questioned by M. Jugie, *DTC* X, 446. For an opposite view, see N. G. Wilson, *Books and Readers in Byzantium, Byzantine Books and Bookmen, A Dumbarton Oaks Colloquium*, Washington D.C. 1975. 12.

come to the court of the Emperor Konstantinos Monomachos. Once there, Mauropous busied himself in affairs of State. From the period ca. 1046-1047 several sources illustrate the extent of his involvement and his influence in the imperial court. His two letters 19 and 20 must date from this period for, although they give evidence of his optimism and enthusiasm, they also suggest the extent of his rise to power and the increasing envy of his enemies and friends alike²⁶. In another letter occasioned by Psellos' nomination as ὑπάτος τῶν φιλοσόφων he pledges his full support (*Ep.* 23). The *Novella* of Konstantinos Monomachos founding a school for the study of law, the authorship of which is attributed to Mauropous, date from the same period (1047)²⁷.

It was Mauropous who was commissioned to draft the *Novella* and not Psellos or Xiphilinos, whose students significantly were entangled in a dispute over imperial patronage²⁸. The selection of Mauropous shows the high esteem in which he was held by the two opposing parties and by the Emperor himself. At this stage he enjoyed the Emperor's confidence and even distinguished himself as the court orator defending the policies which the Emperor had initiated after the Pecheneg War (13 Jan. 1047). In two of his orations delivered in this year he attacked those who disagreed with the Emperor's policy and especially with his decision to disband the troops that were brought to the frontier to fight the Pechenegs²⁹. It was the inevitable revolt of the disbanded armies that precipitated the rebellion in 1047 of Leon Tornikios, an upstart relative of the Emperor.

For about three months the city of Constantinople experienced the drama of this rebellion³⁰. Tornikios' troops confronted the City in full view of its populace. The dramatic moments of this event, which came to its climax during Christmas of 1047, are described in vivid language by Mauropous in an oration delivered before the Emperor (*Orat.* 186)³¹. But Mauropous did not confine himself to words of praise for the Emperor and scorn for the defeated rebels. He even courageously petitioned the Emperor to show leniency to the defeated soldiers and spare their lives. He made this request in a letter addressed to the

26. ...καὶ ἀκουσθῶμέν σοι, ἔτι μείζω καὶ τελεώτερα καὶ παρὰ βασιλεῦσιν αὐτοῖς καὶ παρὰ πατριάρχαις δυνάμενοι. *Epist.* 20, 28-29.

27. For the dating of the *Novella* in 1047, see J. Lefort, *Trois Discours*, 279 ff.

28. N. Wolska-Conus, *Les Écoles de Psellos*, 227ff.

29. *Orat.* 181-182, 186, Bollig-de Lagarde, 137-147, 178-195. Lefort, *Trois Discours*, 271-272.

30. Psellos, *Chron.*, II, 14-29.

31. Bollig-de Lagarde, 178-195. Lefort, *Trois Discours*, 268-284.

Emperor (*Ep.* 26), reminding him that it was his duty to care for the lives of the subjects who had been entrusted to him. Any vengeance he might take upon them would be unjust and contrary to the Christian ideals which he purported to exemplify.

Mauropous' relationship with the Emperor cannot be further defined or amplified. In one of his letters he declared that, even though he had been granted access to the Emperor, he had never striven for personal advancement (*Ep.* 19). Psellos, in his *Encomium*³², implied an idealized relationship between Mauropous and the Emperor, to be compared with the friendship of Plato and Dionysius of Syracuse; but this, to say the least, is an exaggeration.

The intrigues and litigations which kept the courtiers of Konstantinos IX busy did not at first affect Mauropous, for he enjoyed the protection and support of Psellos and Ioannes Xiphilinos. His two letters to Xiphilinos concerning a lawsuit into which he was drawn for reasons unknown to us, show that the two men were close friends and that Mauropous depended on Xiphilinos' support (*Eps.* 28-29). In the period prior to Mauropous' appointment to Euchaita we may also date *Ep.* 33, addressed to Psellos whose influence in the court, as yet unimpaired by his enemies, was still considerable. Although the two men stayed close during this period of relative security, Mauropous at times felt neglected by the more enterprising Michael Psellos. Power seems to have made Psellos distant even to Mauropous, as *Ep.* 33 suggests. The tragedy of Mauropous was that the more his position in the imperial court was weakened by his opponents the more he came to depend upon the protection of his former protégé. Their friendship should hardly be idealized, as it has been in a recent study³³, for it gave way to mistrust and misunderstandings, especially during the most critical moments of Mauropous' career. The strain in their relationship did not abate even after Mauropous was forced to leave Constantinople.

The same cannot be said for Mauropous' relations with Ioannes Xiphilinos. We can identify with certainty only two letters addressed to him in this collection (*Eps.* 28-29). They are concerned only with a particular lawsuit and therefore provide little evidence for assessing the relationship between the two men. A third letter was probably written during Xiphilinos' stay in Olympus in Bithynia (*Ep.* 59). But there are grounds for believing that Mauropous did not

32. Sathas, *MB* V, 154-155.

33. Fr. Tinnfeld, *Freundschaft in den Briefen des Michael Psellos*, *JÖB* 22(1973) 153-154, esp. 165, where the theme of friendship in the correspondence of Michael Psellos is treated mainly from a literary point of view.

feel the same way towards Xiphilinos as he did towards Psellos whom he considered his protégé. No such teacher-student relationship existed between Xiphilinos and Mauropous. However sincere and strong their friendship might have been, we do not find the same kind of intimacy that Mauropous shared with Psellos. Regarding the third member of the circle, Konstantinos Leichoudes, there are no references in any of Mauropous' letters, nor has it been possible to identify him among the addressees in this particular correspondence.

The main problem concerning Mauropous, a matter of serious dispute among historians who have dealt with his life, is to determine the cause and the date of his removal from Constantinople. Dräseke³⁴ connected Mauropous' removal with *Epigr.* 96, «ὄτε ἀπέστη τῆς συγγραφῆς τοῦ χρονογράφου». Whether this epigram has an autobiographical character is open to question. Even if it has, it merely implies that Mauropous was once silenced by the Emperor Konstantinos IX Monomachos who was displeased with the history he was writing. It does not necessarily follow that the epigram provides the reason for Mauropous' removal from Constantinople. Nor is there any other evidence to show that Mauropous was ever commissioned to write the history of his time. One cannot completely ignore the epigram, controversial though it may be. But it suggests no more than the following facts: the author is not used to telling lies, and he is forced to abandon the history he is writing because he cannot turn it into a hypocritical encomium³⁵. Whether Mauropous here refers to a specific situation is open to debate. It would be hard to believe that he was writing about someone else. But on the facts available it is impossible to come to any conclusion about the time, place and circumstances of his epigram. The opinion of Dräseke that Mauropous later resumed his work on this supposed history is based on a misunderstanding³⁶.

If this were not the cause, what were the circumstances which precipitated his ordination and subsequent removal from Constantinople? The ordination was imposed upon Mauropous by force (*Eps.* 45, 48). Does this imply that his ordination was a punitive act in the disguise of a reward? Mauropous at least gives this impression and there is no reason to doubt him (ὁ γὰρ μόνον προσῆν

34. J. Dräseke, *Johannes Mauropous*, *BZ* 2(1893) 476-477. Cf. Bollig-de Lagarde, 50.

35. οὐκοῦν ἀφείσθω ταῦτα τοῖς ἐγκωμίοις,
ἢ συγγραφὴ δὲ μὴ προχωρεῖτω πλέον
οὐκ εὐφωῶς γὰρ πρὸς τὰ τοῦ ψεύδους ἔχει,
νόμος τε ταύτην ἐκ τροπῆς ἀποτρέπει. *Epigr.* 96, 7-10, Bollig-de Lagarde, 50.

36. Karpozilos, *Μαυρόπουλος*, 96-97.

εἰς παρηγορίαν ἡμῖν, ἢ ἐλευθερία, ... ἀποστῆναι καὶ τοῦτο κινδυνεύει νῦν ἀφ' ἡμῶν, ἐπὶ τινὰς θρόνους καὶ βαθμῶν προκοπὰς τῆς ἐξουσίας βιαζομένης... *Ep.* 48, 7-11). The evidence of his correspondence leads to the conclusion that he no longer felt secure in Constantinople, which he was about to leave (*Ep.* 43). He had been drawn into a situation in which he saw no alternative but to submit to fate (*Ep.* 44). What he was afraid of, the ordination and the see of a bishop, had become a reality (*Ep.* 45). He had lost that freedom which he called his most precious possession; the priesthood was forced upon him by a higher authority (*Ep.* 48).

What was this authority that determined his fate in this manner? Psellos in the *Encomium*, written years after the event took place, presented it in a different light. Ioannes Mauroπους' appointment to Euchaita, according to Psellos, came as a reward from the Emperor Konstantinos IX, who was assisted in this matter by the Patriarch Michael Keroularios³⁷. But in a letter which might have been written in reply to Mauroπους' letter *Ep.* 51, Psellos admitted that had Mauroπους stayed any longer in Constantinople he would have suffered an even worse fate. He should consider himself lucky, Psellos added, to have escaped unscathed to Euchaita. He even makes the proposal, not seriously of course, that Mauroπους change places with him³⁸. This letter was written only a short while after he had been nominated as metropolitan. Psellos had every reason to assure him that he had no option under the circumstances but to submit. Thus Psellos needed to say nothing in his letter about his own involvement in this affair.

It is important to try to understand what Psellos implied by writing to Mauroπους, σὺ δὲ τῆς ἐνταῦθα Ἐδέμ οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ πειραθείς, εἰ μὴ θάττον ἀπήλλαξαι, ἐτεθνήκεις ἂν ὑπὸ τῷ ζωηρρῦτῳ φωτῷ. The reference is obviously made in connection with the situation prevailing in the imperial court, which Psellos euphemistically calls Eden. The ζωήρρυτον φωτὸν must be the Emperor himself. Psellos elsewhere uses this expression to refer to the person of the Emperor³⁹. The ultimate danger to which Michael Psellos alludes is the Emperor whose unpredictable nature and whims might have caused greater ruin to

37. Sathas, *MB*, V, 155, 22-27: Εἰθ' ἑκατέρωσε διαλαβόντες, ἔνθεν μὲν ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ, ἐκεῖθεν δὲ ὁ τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην ἰθύνειν λαχών, ὁ μὲν ταῖς ἀνάγκαις, ὁ δὲ ταῖς ψήφοις... ἐπὶ τοῦ τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης θρόνου τιθέασι, καὶ ἐξαίρουσιν αὐτῷ ὥσπερ τινὶ κρείττονι τὰ Εὐχάϊτα.

38. *Epist.* 34, Kurtz-Drexel II, 54, 28-30: Σὺ δὲ τῆς ἐνταῦθα Ἐδέμ οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ πειραθείς, εἰ μὴ θάττον ἀπήλλαξαι, ἐτεθνήκεις ἂν ὑπὸ τῷ ζωηρρῦτῳ φωτῷ· καὶ τῶν ἐνταῦθα σε παρεμυθεῖτο οὐδέν...

39. *Epist.* 5, 214, Kurtz-Drexel II, 5, 255.

Mauroπους. The situation brings to mind the scene which Psellos described in his *Chronographia* following the downfall of Konstantinos Leichoudes⁴⁰. Mauroπους must have fallen from the graces of the Emperor for the same reasons as Leichoudes. The exact cause and the details escape us but they are most likely akin to those that Psellos describes in general fashion in his *Chronographia*⁴¹.

The date of Mauroπους' appointment has for a long time been a controversial issue. The dates proposed range from 1043 to 1054⁴². A clue which helps to narrow down the period is the passage καὶ νῦν ἀτεχνῶς ὑπὸ σελήνην καὶ ἡλίου ἐσμὲν καὶ ἡ τάξις παρὰ πολὺ διαλλάττουσα... in a letter of Psellos⁴³ to Mauroπους. Psellos, having first described to Mauroπους the unstable situation prevailing at court, alludes to another event about which he speaks more openly in his *Chronographia*⁴⁴. His allusion, probably deliberately cloaked in metaphor, is to the well known love affair that Konstantinos IX carried on in the last years of his reign. The moon which had at this time just risen in the court was none other than the Alan princess with whom the Emperor fell passionately in love⁴⁵.

The period 1050-1052 was a time of trouble during which Leichoudes fell from power (1050) allegedly for not fulfilling the Emperor's wishes (*Chron.* II, 60). About the same time that Leichoudes was dismissed from office, Mauroπους for some unknown reason seems to have been forced to leave Constantinople. To minimize his disgrace and to provide a pretext for leaving the City he was offered the see of Euchaita. For the fact that it was by the Emperor's order that he was sent there we have Mauroπους' own testimony, in addition to the vague inferences of Psellos⁴⁶. To be sure, Mauroπους could not be outspoken or very explicit about the matter lest he cause serious offence to the person of the Emperor. He considered his appointment to Euchaita to be an exile, often referring to it as such in his letters (*Eps.* 61, 20-22; 63, 3-5; 66, 18-22). But in his sermons there he never revealed his true feelings to the faithful⁴⁷. Had he

40. Psellos, *Chron.*, II, 59-60. Sathas, *MB* IV, 405.

41. Psellos, *Chron.*, II, 65-66.

42. For the various chronologies advanced heretofore, see Karpozilos, *Μαυρόπους*, 39.

43. *Epist.* 34, Kurtz-Drexel II, 55, 7-8.

44. Psellos, *Chron.* II, 45ff.

45. Lyubarsky, *Mikhail Psell*, 45, n. 11. Karpozilos, *Μαυρόπους*, 40.

46. Sathas, *MB* V, 155. *Epist.* 34, Kurtz-Drexel II, 54.

47. *Orat.* 184, Bollig-de Lagarde, 162, 20-22: ...ἤδη γὰρ τολμήσω νεανιεύσασθαι τῇ ἀληθείᾳ

considered his appointment a reward he would have no reason to be bitter about it. In addition even Psellos, who is generally cautious in his letters, once had to admit that Mauroπους truly suffered a great disgrace aggravated by the fact that he had to endure it in his own land⁴⁸.

Whether the Patriarch Michael Keroularios was also involved in Mauroπους' case and to what extent is unknown. Nowhere in his correspondence does Mauroπους mention the Patriarch's involvement in his appointment. There is no hint of it in his three letters to the Patriarch (*Eps.* 64-66). The reference which Psellos makes concerning the Patriarch in the *Encomium* does not help us either. The encomiast's effort is obvious. He endeavoured to show that Mauroπους' appointment was in recognition of his piety and virtues and was made with the full approval of the Emperor and the Patriarch⁴⁹.

Before leaving Constantinople, Mauroπους seems to have had to abandon his house which he had transformed into a school (*Epigr.* 47). He later regained it, however, as he happily narrates in another epigram, through the Emperor's generosity (*Epigr.* 48). On the basis of these two epigrams it is assumed that Mauroπους did not stay to the end of his life in Euchaita but was eventually recalled to Constantinople by Konstantinos IX Monomachos⁵⁰.

The circumstances of these two epigrams are somewhat obscure. Mauroπους expected that his house would continue functioning as a school under its new owner after he had left⁵¹. Yet the epigrams do not make clear why he had to abandon the house. The lines λόγος δὲ νικᾷ πάντα καὶ θεοῦ πόθος / τρίτον δ' ἀρίθμει τῆς τελευτῆς τὸν φόβον (*Epigr.* 47, 34), considered to be the key to this question⁵², do not actually yield the answer. The fear of death and the desire for God were in the mind of Mauroπους while he contemplated his uncertain future. One wonders, however, if both epigrams were not written at the same time and after Mauroπους had regained his house. The disappointment Mauroπους manifested by accusing the house in the epigram of unfaithfulness and

θαρηψίας, τὸ βιασθῆναι περὶ τὸν θρόνον καὶ τέλος ἐνδοῦναι, μὴ λαμβάνειν δόξαντας χάριν, ἀλλὰ διδόναι, καὶ πεισθέντας μᾶλλον ἢ πείσαντας.

48. *Epist.* 173, Sathas *MB* V, 440-441.

49. *Ibid.*, 155.

50. Dräseke, Johannes Mauroπους, 468.

51. νῦν δ' ἄλλους ἔξεις οὗς παιδεύσεις καὶ θρέψεις, ἄλλοις παρέξεις πρὸς λόγους εὐκαιρίαν, εἴπερ λόγους στέργουσιν, ἡμῖν δ' οὐκέτι. *Epigr.* 47, 49-51, Bollig-de Lagarde, 26.

52. Eustratiades, Ἰωάννης Μαυρόπους, 408.

indifference to his personal drama is a pure invention, in view of the fact that the second epigram holds in store for an unexpected turn of events — its sudden return to Mauroπους (*Epigr.* 48)⁵³.

The two epigrams do not seem, therefore, to have been written in connection with Mauroπους' departure for Euchaita. On the contrary, they seem to relate to another epigram transmitted in *Cod. Athen.* 1040, ff. 288^r-290^v, with the title «Εἰς τὸν βασιλέα κύριον Κωνσταντῖνον τὸν Μονομάχον», but without the name of its author⁵⁴. It is highly likely that this epigram too may have come from the pen of Mauroπους.

Several of the details seem to argue in favour of this attribution: The author of the epigram claims to have contributed to the defence of Konstantinos IX during the rebellion of Leon Tornikios: Εἰ καὶ παρείδες τοὺς ἐμοὺς πόνους ἀναξ, / οὗς συντέθηκα στηλιτεύων τοὺς τρόπους / Λέοντος ἄμφω καὶ Βατάτζη τῶν πλάνων, / τῆς παμπονήρου τοῦ Σατὰν ξυνωρίδος (lines 1-4). The author, by his own admission, like Mauroπους, has been a teacher. Like Mauroπους as well, he is a man past his sixtieth year. He approaches the Emperor with the request that he should not be subordinated to much younger teachers who had in fact been his own students: εἴπερ κελεύεις καὶ δοκεῖ σου τῷ κράτει / ἰσόθρονον δεῖξον με τοῖς ἰσοθρόνοις... / καὶ μὴ μαθητὰς τοὺς ἐμοὺς ὑπὲρ κάρας / ἐμῆς ἐάσης ἐνθρονίζεσθαι πλέον (lines 35-36, 40-41). But the real motivation of his request is obscured by its poetic phrasing. Nonetheless, it is conceivable that the author, a teacher, had been involved in a professional dispute which he tried to bring to the attention of the Emperor⁵⁵.

Mauroπους in *Epigr.* 47 makes it clear that the school which he had established in his house was passing to the hands of another teacher — the reasons are not given — and it was only by the Emperor's intervention that it was restored to him (*Epigr.* 48, 4). It is possible that the epigram in *Cod. Athen.* 1040 is Mauroπους' actual request to the Emperor, in order to regain possession of his house and school. The style of the epigram may not seem to be obviously that of Mauroπους. But nowhere else in his writings is a comparable plea to the Emperor to be found. In addition, Mauroπους himself admitted that, for the purpose of compiling his works, he had carefully selected only

53. *Epigr.* 48, 1-4, Bollig-de Lagarde, 26.

54. For the description of the manuscript, see I.-A. Sakkellion, *Κατάλογος τῶν χειρογράφων τῆς Ἐθνικῆς Βιβλιοθήκης τῆς Ἑλλάδος*, Athens 1892, 184-185. For the text of the epigram, see Karpozilos, *Μαυρόπους*, 71-74.

55. Karpozilos, *Μαυρόπους*, 70-71.

those writings which he felt would represent him in the best possible way⁵⁶.

In a series of epigrams, written before he was elected and while he was awaiting the decision which was going to shape his future, an emotional Mauro-pous gave vent to his fears and expressed great concern about his fate (*Epigrs.* 89-92)⁵⁷. In these he argues that he did not shun his responsibilities because of a sense of false humility or fearing the loss of the greater security which Constantinople provided. It was rather because of his conviction of his own unworthiness that he did not wish to assume a bishop's responsibilities.

At the same time, he counters the arguments of those who engineered his appointment to high office, attacking in particular the suggestion that he should seek the advantages, powers and privileges inherent in a position for which he felt no calling. His verses were written in defence of his cherished *maxim λάθε βιώσας*. Although he was leading a very simple life, enjoying only the barest essentials of existence, he nevertheless felt no desire to abandon it. It was a frugal existence but a free one, untrammelled by the envy and cares which consumed others: ἴσως ἄδοξός ἐστιν, ἀλλ' ἔλευθέρα / ἴσως κρότων ἄμοιρος, ἀλλὰ καὶ φθόνων / κτήσις τις οὐ πρόσσεστιν; οὐδὲ φροντίδες (*Epigr.* 90, 5-7)⁵⁸. The temptation to accept the position and its many rewards did, however, give him food for thought. In *Epigrs.* 91-92, he contemplates the prospects he would enjoy in the office, but he then readily rejects them for being inconsistent with his values. He reasons that fame, wealth and applause are ephemeral (*Epigr.* 91). But as his inevitable nomination approached, his desperation increased. He grew frantic realizing the day was nearing: Ἐλκουσι βαθμοί· πρόσσχες. ἀθρόα ζάλη. / ψῆφοι φέρονται· συστροφὴ καταιγίδων. / θρόνοι καλοῦσιν· ὦ κυβερνήτα, βλέπε (*Epigr.* 92, 1-3)⁵⁹. He debated with himself the argument that he should not withhold his services since he had in fact something unique and vital to contribute. The only gift that he would readily admit to having was a talent for rhetoric. But then he had taught it and the excellence of his students was proof of his proficiency (*Epigr.* 92, 39-50). Moreover, he protested that it was now too late for him to accept such a position. But with *Epigr.* 93 the tone completely changes. It was written after his nomination and it recants all that he has said hitherto. It is not that he had changed his mind. Rather it seems that circumstances had caused him to undergo a radical change of heart. He felt

56. *Epigr.* I, 26-28, Bollig-de Lagarde, I.

57. Bollig-de Lagarde, 42-48.

58. *Ibid.*, 43.

59. *Ibid.*, 45.

moreover, that it was even audacious of him to suppose that his will could withstand the pressures placed on him by the hand of an authority which in the end was to ordain the ensuing pattern of his life:

ἔρῳ δὲ μᾶλλον ὡς ὁ μὲν λόγος μένει,
ἢ πραγμάτων φύσις δὲ τὴν τροπὴν ἔχει ...
καὶ δὴ πρὸς ὕψος χεῖρας ἐξαίροντά με,
καὶ δὴ κροτοῦντα σύμβολον νίκης μέγα
φθάσας κραταιᾷ χειρὶ νῦν συλλαμβάνει,
καὶ τὴν ἄκαμπτον καρδίαν κάμψας βία,
ἄγει φέρει τε, καὶ τίθησιν εἰς μέσον
τὸν ἐκφυγεῖν δόξαντα πᾶν ἤδη μέσον (*Epigr.* 93, 5-6; 35-40)⁶⁰.

Upon his appointment as Metropolitan of Euchaita or perhaps later, Mauro-pous was raised to the rank of *synkellos*. This title was given to metropolitans by the Emperor but it entailed no special functions⁶¹. Mauro-pous must have been one of the first ecclesiastics to receive this distinction. Invariably he is designated *protosynkellos*, as in the title of the *Encomium* which Psellos wrote for him⁶², or *synkellos* and *proedros*;⁶³ though it is doubtful whether the rank of his see entitled him to these honorific titles.

Euchaita, a city of Hellenopontos on the road to Amaseia, has been identified with the Turkish village of Avkat or Avhat⁶⁴. Archaeological studies carried out in this area established that Euchaita was granted the status of a city in the period 515-518, whereupon it was also raised to a bishopric by the Emperor Anastasios I with Mamas as its first bishop⁶⁵. It was under Photios that Euchaita was raised to a metropolitan see with four suffragan bishops under its jurisdiction⁶⁶. Later the Emperor Ioannis Tzimiskes (969-976) changed the name of the place to Theodoropolis in honour of the patron saint of the city⁶⁷. The

60. *Ibid.*, 48, 49.

61. V. Grumel, Titulature de métropolitans byzantins. Les métropolitans syncelles, *REB* 3(1945) 93ff.

62. Sathas, *MB* V, 142.

63. Ἰωάννου πόνοι τε καὶ λόγοι τάδε, ὃς σύγκελλος ἦν καὶ πρόεδρος ἐνθάδε. Bollig-de Lagarde, VI.

64. H. Grégoire, Géographie Byzantine: Euchaita, *BZ* 19(1910) 59-61.

65. C. Mango-I. Ševčenko, Three Inscriptions of the Reigns of Anastasius I and Constantine V, *BZ* 65(1972) 379-393.

66. Grumel, *Regestes*, no. 527.

67. Scylitzes, ed. Thurn, 309, 29-33.

annual feast celebrated on the day of Saint Theodore, the patron saint of Euchaita, contributed, of course, to its fame and prosperity⁶⁸.

Yet there is little information concerning the population of the city and its economy in the eleventh century. Our only information is derived from Mauro-pous' writings. Upon his arrival there, Mauro-pous wrote to the Patriarch Michael Keroularios complaining that he found the countryside poor and desolate (*Ep.* 64). In another letter to the Patriarch he mentioned that the arrival of a letter carrier there was considered a rare event because the place was hardly ever visited by travellers, except for tax collectors and recruiting agents for the army (*Ep.* 65). In his sermons, however, Mauro-pous presents a strikingly different account of his see. Euchaita is described as a populous and prosperous city with many pilgrims coming there especially during the feast days of its patron saint⁶⁹. In another sermon he refers to christian refugees in Euchaita, who had fled from their homes in the face of danger, and also implies and in his city as well there was turmoil and unrest⁷⁰. The date of this sermon cannot be established with any certainty. The presence of Christian refugees suggests nonetheless the extent of the mass movement of the Turkish nomads into the area prior to 1071. The reluctance of ecclesiastics to stay in their appointed sees in Asia Minor became an acute problem on the eve of the battle of Manzikert⁷¹. In the case of Euchaita there is no information about its security or preparedness.

Mauro-pous did not abandon all hope of returning eventually to Constantinople. He made no secret of the fact that he was unhappy and completely disillusioned with his life in Euchaita. He openly confessed his unhappiness to his friends (*Eps.* 51, 60, 61) and even to the Patriarch himself (*Eps.* 64-66). He must on more than one occasion have approached the Emperor through Michael Psellos, trying to secure permission to return⁷². Except for a few letters his correspondence with Psellos during this time has not survived (*Eps.* 51, 60, 63). However, Psellos' surviving letters to him indicate that the two men continued to

68. H. Delehayé, Euchaita et la légende de Saint Theodore, *Mélanges d'Hagiographie Grecque et Latine*, Bruxelles 1966, 275-280, esp. 276.

69. *Orat.* 184, Bollig-de Lagarde, 160; see also *Orat.* 179, pp. 122-123; 184, pp. 162-163 and 189, p. 207ff.

70. *Orat.* 180, Bollig-de Lagarde, 136-137.

71. V. Tiftixoglu, Gruppenbildungen innerhalb des konstantinopolitanischen Klerus während der Komnenenzeit, *BZ* 62(1969) 27f.

72. Karpozilos, *Μαυρόπουλος*, 44-45; Lyubarsky, *Mikhail Psell*, 46.

correspond during Mauro-pous' stay in Euchaita⁷³.

In a letter that was written in the first months of Mauro-pous' residence in Euchaita, Psellos tried to describe the situation at the court and his efforts to make Mauro-pous' return possible. At first he wrote that he thought it better that Mauro-pous stay away because his departure was still fresh in everyone's mind. There was nothing he could do on his behalf; Psellos' position at court was obviously not all that secure and evidently he did not wish to risk it for his friend⁷⁴. But eventually he did approach the Emperor, whose attitude towards Mauro-pous had, in the meantime begun to change⁷⁵.

In the end Mauro-pous' persistence was rewarded. He managed to return to Constantinople and was granted an audience by the Emperor which Psellos had personally arranged for him. He can only have been a few years in Euchaita. He had faced difficulties there and the people of the city complained against him even to the Emperor Konstantinos IX Monomachos. On that occasion the matter was settled by the timely intervention of Psellos⁷⁶. It is possible that Mauro-pous had to return to Constantinople because of the problems he encountered in his province. In two letters he implied that there was a conflict between him and his flock. The nature of this friction remains obscure but it seems that his enemies in Constantinople had provoked it (*Eps.* 60, 75). Such is the implication of his letter to the Patriarch in which he warned his enemies in Constantinople to abandon any hope of profit by coming to Euchaita after his departure (*Ep.* 66).

The letter of Michael Psellos in which he counselled Mauro-pous how to appear before the Emperor should therefore be dated on the eve of his return to Constantinople⁷⁷. On that occasion Psellos was quick to suggest that Mauro-pous not show his true feelings about his appointment when he met the Empe-

73. The following letters of Michael Psellos bear witness that the two men continued to correspond during this time: *Epist.* 34, 45-46, 190, 229, Kurtz-Drexel II; *Epist.* 40, 80, 173, Sathas, *MB* V.

74. 'Ενταῦθα μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν ἔστώς, οὐ μόνιμον, ἀλλὰ πάντα κινεῖται καὶ μεταβάλλεται. *Epist.* 34, Kurtz-Drexel II, 54, 13-14.

75. *Epist.* 80, Sathas *MB* V, 314, 3-6; *Epist.* 46, Kurtz-Drexel II, 78, 15.

76. *Epist.* 80, Sathas, *MB* V, 313, 15-17: 'Εγὼ δὲ σοὶ εἰ βούλει ὁ 'Αμβακούμ, οὐκ αἰθέριος, ἄλλ' ὡς εἶωθα ἀπεχαλίνωσα τούτοις τὰ στόματα, ὥστε θαυμάζειν καὶ τὸν βασιλέα...

77. *Epist.* 229, Kurtz-Drexel II, 273-274: 'Ὁρᾷς, ὅπως πόρρω σε τῆς σκηνῆς ὁ τραγῳδὸς ἐγὼ τρηματίζω καὶ διαπλάττω, φοβούμενος, μὴ πως ἀνυπόκριτος ἔλθῃς ἢ διαφθείρης φανείς τὴν ὑπόκρισιν...

ror⁷⁸. But what made the Emperor change his mind and recall Mauroπους to Constantinople? On the one hand there was the opposition working against him and trying to discredit him as metropolitan; on the other there was the dissatisfaction which he had felt from the beginning of his office. The combination of these factors may have finally convinced the Emperor to relieve him of his duties. Psellos states in his letter that the Emperor intended to restore Mauroπους to his former position in Constantinople relieving him of his distress: *ὁς δὲ καὶ βουλόμενός σε ἀπὸ τῶν κυμάτων ἐπὶ τὴν γαλήνην μεταγαγεῖν καὶ ἀποδοῦναι ἑαυτῷ καὶ σαυτῷ ἐπὶ τὴν ἔχουσαν αὐτὸν πόλιν μετακαλεῖται μεθ' ὅσης εἴποις ἂν τῆς ἐπιθυμίας καὶ μεθ' οἴου τοῦ ἔρωτος*⁷⁹.

How long Mauroπους remained in Constantinople before he resumed his office in Euchaita is uncertain. It is possible that he returned to his see at about the same time that Psellos went to Olympos in Bithynia⁸⁰. Psellos is indeed our only informant about Mauroπους' second sojourn in Euchaita. In one of his letters to Mauroπους, Psellos admitted that his friend and former teacher was indeed sent into exile and the tragedy of his exile was that he had to endure it in his own homeland⁸¹. This is an admission which Psellos would never have dared to make while at the court of Konstantinos IX. A second letter was written while Mauroπους was contemplating abandoning his office and retiring to a monastery⁸². Psellos had heard a rumour of this but in his letter he expressed no opinion about it. He only pointed out that neither a runner nor a soldier give up their race or post. In the *Encomium*, which must date from about the same time as the letter, he voiced the same objections. Were they his own objections or did he voice the objections of someone else?

In the *Encomium* the position which Psellos takes on the matter of Mauroπους' retirement is truly puzzling. The *Encomium* was written by Psellos at a

78. Σὺ δὲ εἰσεληλυθὼς ἐνταῦθα καὶ τοῦ βήματος ἐντὸς γεγονώς, δέσμησον τὰς ὀφρῦς καὶ τὸ ἦθος ἀλλοίωσον καὶ υποθέσεις τοῖς λόγοις μὴ ὑπόβαλε τὰ τῶν ἐπιχειρῶν, τὰ τῶν ἀπειτήσεων, ὡς ἠνίασαι καὶ ἔτοιμος φυγεῖν τὴν μητρόπολιν... *ibid.*, 273, 21-24.

79. *Ibid.*

80. Psellos, *Chron.* II, 67ff.

81. *Epist.* 173, Sathas, *MB V*, 440-441.

82. *Epist.* 45, Kurtz-Drexel II, 77, 6-7: 'Ἄλλ' οὐ παρὰ τοῦτο ἀποστατέον αὐτοὺς τῶν ἐφ' οἷς ἐτάχθησαν καὶ πρὸς ἅ ἐπιδειξίως πεφύκασι. Τοῦτο δὲ ἐξεπίτηδες γράφω πρὸς τινὰ φήμην ἀγωνιζόμενος. Lyubarsky, *Mikhail Psell*, 45, dated this letter in the early days of Mauroπους' stay in Euchaita. However, it seems unlikely that Mauroπους at this time was already planning to retire from his position. On the other hand, Psellos' arguments in his letter and in the *Encomium* are strikingly similar; cf. Sathas, *MB V*, 165.

time when both the Emperor Konstantinos IX and the Patriarch Michael Keroularios were dead, as an attempt to prevent Mauroπους from abandoning his position to retire to a monastery. Since this was the idea behind it, to stop Mauroπους' defection, as Psellos put it, the circumstances of his original appointment as they are presented should be questioned. By overlooking Psellos' motives and accepting his account unquestionably one is likely to arrive at completely different conclusions. The time of the composition of the *Encomium* has been established beyond any doubt after 1075⁸³. Given the fact that Mauroπους had served in Euchaita for about two decades it is hard to imagine why Psellos opposed his wish to retire from his post. Among the reasons Mauroπους gave for wanting to retire were his advanced age and poor health, which Psellos could not deny⁸⁴.

The ministry of Mauroπους to the people of Euchaita covered about twenty years. He tried to improve the religious life of his flock by correcting the liturgical books used in the church there⁸⁵, uplifting their spirit with a series of sermons read during the feast day of Saint Theodore, the patron of the city⁸⁶, and finally by securing protection and imperial privileges for his Metropolis⁸⁷. His stay in Euchaita inspired him to write the *Vita* of Saint Dorotheos of Chiliokomon⁸⁸ and the sermon on Saint Eusebeia, a local saint⁸⁹. In other words, he devoted his life to serving God and his people.

In the end Mauroπους seems to have been unconvinced by the arguments of Psellos. At the time when Psellos composed the *Encomium*, sometime after 1075, Mauroπους was clearly living in Constantinople. Yet the details of his retreat from Euchaita are not known. One of his letters reveals nonetheless that at the end he was relieved of his duties and replaced by someone else at the

83. Lyubarsky, Mikhail Psell, 32; Karpozilos, *Μαυρόπους*, 46.

84. Sathas, *MB V*, 164-165.

85. *Epigr.* 97-98, Εἰς τὰ δωρηθέντα μνηαῖα εἰς Εὐχάϊτα, Bollig-de Lagarde, 50-51; Sathas, *MB V*, 156-157.

86. *Orat.* 179-180, 189, Bollig-de Lagarde, 119-137, 207-209. H. Delehaye, *Euchaita et la légende de Saint Theodore*, 276 ff.

87. The Emperor Konstantinos IX renewed the privileges of his predecessors to the church of Euchaita (*Epigr.* 57, Bollig-de Lagarde, 34) and out of gratitude his image was inscribed in Saint Theodore's cathedral together with the chrysobull he had issued; see also Psellos, *Encomium*, Sathas, *MB V*, 157.

88. *Orat.* 190, Bollig-de Lagarde, 209-218 (= BHG³ 565).

89. *Orat.* 188, *ibid.*, 202-207 (= BHG³ 632).

insistence of the people of Euchaita (*Ep.* 75). In a synodal decree which the Patriarch Ioannes VIII Xiphilinos issued in 1072 the name of the Metropolitan of Euchaita is not listed⁹⁰. In two other documents issued earlier, on April 26, 1066 and July 9, 1071, his name does not figure either⁹¹. Exactly how long Mauroπους spent in office before retiring to the monastery of St. John the Baptist of Petra is therefore not known. The *Encomium* of Psellos, however, indicates that, apart from a brief sojourn in Constantinople during the last years of Konstantinos Monomachos' reign, Mauroπους stayed in Euchaita until the time of his retirement to Constantinople (ca. 1075). His successor may have been Theodoros, the *synkellos*⁹².

His presence in Constantinople after 1075 is attested by other sources. It is clear that he lived in the monastery of Saint John the Baptist of Petra. In two epigrams written to commemorate sermons given by him in the churches of the Dormition and of the Archangels, Mauroπους states that he lives in their vicinity (*Epigrs.* 27-28)⁹³. The sermons referred to by the epigrams survive among Mauroπους' writings⁹⁴. The location of the church of the Archangels near which he lived cannot be ascertained. Yet the church of the Dormition in his neighbourhood may well have been the famous church of the Blachernae because in his sermon he seems to allude to the fire which destroyed that church in 1070⁹⁵.

Significantly, the epigrams (nos. 27-28) and the two sermons (nos. 177, 183) were composed during his monastic retirement. There, he lived, according to his nephew Theodoros, to become «full of days»⁹⁶. Other sources confirm that Mauroπους retired to the monastery of Saint John the Baptist of Petra which was indeed in the vicinity of the Blachernae; and it may be assumed that he did so some time after 1075. An allusion to his retreat there seems to be made in a letter of Psellos, in which he thanks Mauroπους for a gift he sent to him from the monastery of Saint John of Petra (γένοιτό σοι ἡ Πέτρα, τιμώτατε

90. N. Oikonomidès, Un décret synodal inédit du Patriarche Jean VIII Xiphilin, *REB* 18(1960) 57.

91. Grumel, *Regestes*, no. 896 and 900; Tiftixoglu, 28, no. 27.

92. Laurent, *Le Corpus des Sceaux de l'Empire Byzantin*, no. 770.

93. Πρόγραμμα εἰς τὸν τῆς Κοιμήσεως Λόγον, *Epigr.* 27; Πρόγραμμα εἰς τὸν περὶ τῶν Ἀγγέλων Λόγον, *Epigr.* 28; Bollig-de Lagarde, 12-14.

94. *Orat.* 177 and 183, Bollig-de Lagarde, 95-106, 147-160.

95. *Orat.* 183, *ibid.*, 154.

96. Mercati, *Ufficio*, 359-360.

πάτερ, χωρίον ἐρίβωλον καὶ ἄρουρα πίειρα). This letter in *Cod. Barber.* 240 bears witness that Psellos continued to correspond with Mauroπους even during the time of his monastic retirement⁹⁷.

The exact year of Mauroπους' death is disputed. One source suggests that he lived until 1092, claiming that in that year he instituted the feast of the Three Hierarchs and healed a dispute which had divided the Church during the reign of Alexios I Komnenos⁹⁸. It is not improbable that Ioannes Mauroπους should have lived so long. But only the day of his death, 5 October, is recorded⁹⁹.

II. THE LETTERS OF IOANNES MAUROPOUS

Most byzantine letters that have been transmitted to this day either in collections or dispersed as stray items among other works owe their survival mainly to the fact that their authors composed their letters with an eye to posterity. It is a well known fact that they preserved copies of their correspondence and particularly of the letters they considered important, keeping them in files often in chronological sequence. That each one of these letters was destined to be made public sooner or later was a matter well known both to the writer and to the recipient. This is particularly true for letters of a rhetorical nature written according to the traditional rules of epistolography. An exception might be the letters of high ranking ecclesiastics like the patriarchal letters of Nikolaos Mystikos or of Athanasios of Constantinople. But even in such collections letters that concern personal matters are not a rarity. In most cases such letters have arisen out of ordinary circumstances and often were composed with an eye to being read and publicized. Generally speaking, however, the letter by its very nature was regarded as a literary work and the rhetorical taste of the day considered them worth preserving. As a result, such letters were copied and circulated in the scholarly milieu, where they were read before an audience. Occasionally collections of letters have survived because of the interest exhibited for certain authors whose letters were considered masterpieces in the art of epistolography. Yet the general character of byzantine letters —whether they

97. This letter together with three other is transmitted in *Cod. Barber.* 240, ff. 146v-147, under the heading εἰς τινα πατέρα πνευματικόν, whom G. Weiss, *Forschungen zu den noch nicht edierten Schriften des Michael Psellos*, *Byzantinica* 4(1972) 27, identified with Ioannes Mauroπους. Cf. P. Canart, *Nouveaux inédits de Michel Psellos*, *REB* 25(1967), no 6, p. 54.

98. *Acta SS* Jun. II, 1698, 934-936; *PG* 29: CCCXC-CCCXCIII; *BHG*³ 746y. Karpozilos, *Μαυρόπους*, 162-166.

99. Mercati, *Ufficio*, 350.

were written with a view to publication or not— reveal a conscious regard for the tradition of the stereotype formula and the literary form. The act itself of committing to writing a message—the letter being regarded as a substitute for a personal meeting— was a ritual in which only the initiated in the formal schooling of rhetoric excelled. Although each developed his own style, conformity to certain rules is easy to detect. In the case of letters of a particular nature (encomiastic, didactic etc.) one was bound to conform to certain precepts. The same holds true also for other stock devices of epistolary embellishment, such as the citation of proverbs or quotations from the Scriptures, with which letters are normally adorned.

In the case of Mauropous' collection it would be safe to say that we have a carefully chosen series of letters arranged by the author himself. The *codex Vatic. Gr. 676* is the principle manuscript of Mauropous' writings. The epigrams, the letters and the orations which are transmitted by *Vatic. Gr. 676*—the only manuscript preserving his collected works— were selected by Mauropous personally. His choice is representative of his best writing style, one which characteristically avoided every excess and superficiality. The criteria which he used for his entire work, not only for his epigrams as Thiel maintains¹⁰⁰, are elaborated in an epigram with which he prefaced his collected works— Πρόγραμμα εἰς τὴν ὄλην βίβλον. Mauropous wanted to publish only a small part of his writings to represent the character of his work which he believed he had accomplished to no avail. He did not wish to appear as one of those who wrote only to court fame. Thus in contrast to others, he chose but a few fragments of his poetry and prose, modestly dedicating them to his friends:

ἐγὼ δὲ τούτους ἐξελών μου τοὺς λόγους
πολλῶν ἀπ' ἄλλων —ἐμμέτρων, οὐκ ἐμμέτρων—
μόνους φέρων δίδωμι τοῖς λόγων φίλοις,
ὡς γεῦμα μικρὸν δαψιλοῦς ἀνθοσμίου...¹⁰¹.

Only a few of the writings he excluded from the collection survive¹⁰². As regards the actual drafting of the corpus we are inclined to believe that it was completed after 1075, when Mauropous acquired in Constantinople the leisure necessary to look back at his life and work. Interestingly enough, the best part of his writings (epigrams, letters, orations) cover events and personalities which were more or

less connected with the reign of Konstantinos Monomachos. Concerning the period after the death of the Emperor we find few traces in his writings. This is particularly true for his letters and to a lesser extent for his epigrams and orations. To be sure, a series of letters, *Eps.* 51-76, date from the period of his ministry in Euchaita. Considering, however, the fact that Mauropous' ministry there covered a period of more than two decades, it is impossible to determine a chronology in those letters that have no concrete chronological indications at all. But even so, from this group of letters the better part dates from the first years of his ministry there and for all practical purposes it concerns persons and events that are more or less linked with the reign of Konstantinos Monomachos.

It is no accident that Mauropous chose to deal in his correspondence mainly with this period only—a period during which he gained prominence at first as counselor of the Emperor Konstantinos IX and subsequently as metropolitan of Euchaita. His intention in compiling his correspondence was then to delineate his career which began in the court of Konstantinos IX and reached its climax with his dramatic departure from the city of Constantinople.

It is remarkable that none of the seventy-seven letters in Mauropous' correspondence bears the name of its addressee. As a result the identification of his correspondents in most cases is impossible. Besides, the letters provide little concrete information and what occasional remarks are made about the addressees are usually vague and insufficient for the formation of definite conclusions. The names of the addressees must have been omitted by Mauropous intentionally. As he explains in the epigram with which he prefaced his collected works, his intention was to give to the public only a small part of his writings. The letters he chose for his collection represent only a fraction of his correspondence. The selection he made, however, he wanted primarily to be read as literary pieces. It was for this reason that the names of the actual addressees were withheld. In this sense, the seventy-seven letters of the collection are presented by Mauropous more as literary letters than as confidential personal missives. Were the names of the addressees given, his letters would represent a record of his correspondence with certain individuals. The omission of their names was on his part perhaps also a small act of courtesy towards his correspondents. Be that as it may, except for a few, most of his correspondents remain unidentifiable. Among those whom we can identify are Michael Psellos, Ioannes Xiphilinos, the Emperor Konstantinos IX Monomachos and the Patriarch Michael Keroularios.

Apart from these individuals his other correspondents represent people of a wide variety of backgrounds and professions. Among them were tax collec-

100. G. Thiele, Mauropous als Epigrammatiker, *RE Pauly-Wissowa*, IX 2, 1762.

101. *Epigr.* 1. 26-29, Bollig-de Lagarde, I.

102. Karpozilos, *Μαυρόπουλος*, 68-74, 116, 137-140.

tors, teachers, ecclesiastics, students and judges. Mauropous' letters are quite diverse. Their thematic content is in fact as varied as the lives and occupations of his correspondents. Some of the letters are letters of introduction; others are simply short notes in which Mauropous requests a favour from the recipient. Yet many of the letters prove quite revealing of the manner in which Mauropous cultivated and exploited his various relationships. The more interesting letters are of course those occasioned by significant events in Mauropous' own life. *Ep. 5*, for example, refers to the fact that he was asked to accept the office of *chartophylax*. *Eps. 19-20* were written during the period when he was first brought to the imperial court. *Ep. 23* seems occasioned by Psellos' nomination to become ὑπατος τῶν φιλοσόφων. We observe that *Ep. 26* to the Emperor Konstantinos IX concerns Mauropous' request for humane treatment for the rebels in league with Leon Tornikios. In *Eps. 43-45* and *48-50* we see Mauropous on the eve of his election to the see of Euchaita. Finally, *Eps. 51-54, 59-61, 63-66* and *75* sent from Euchaita, many of which deal with his activities there, close the corpus. These events can be only partially reconstructed from sporadic references in the letters. Nevertheless, we see a certain logic in the arrangement of this corpus which seems to have resulted from a process of selection made by Mauropous himself. In this particular selection of his letters Mauropous wished to single out and order certain important events in his life. Some of the letters correspond chronologically with significant periods in his affairs, and these definitely appear in the order in which they were occasioned. With certain others, however, such as letters of recommendation, saluting his friends etc., it is questionable if they have been arranged in a strict chronological sequence. But the general arrangement of the letters is nevertheless a chronological one. However, the balance of letters in the corpus, those not specifically tied to significant events in Mauropous' life, seems to have been placed with no concern for chronology. At least, their content does not suggest it.

If we accept the general sequential order in the collection, it is possible to propose a relative dating to the letters according to the period to which they belong. For example, one group of letters (*Eps. 1-18*) derives from the period 1028-1043, when Mauropous lived in relative obscurity in Constantinople working as a teacher. Another group consists of letters 19-41, which were written in the period 1043-1048, when Mauropous was introduced in the court of Konstantinos IX Monomachos. Letters 43-50 comprise another group dating to the eve of his election to the bishopric of Euchaita (1048-1049). The rest, *Eps. 51-76*, date from the period of his ministry to the Church of Euchaita (1049-1075). Significantly, only the last letter of the collection seems to have been written in Constantinople after his retirement from his see.

Within the corpus we have observed certain letters to have been grouped together either because they were written on the same occasion (which also suggests a chronological sequence) or because of their subject matter (thematic affinity). For instance, *Ep. 10* and *11*, both of which were written on behalf of a band of Paphlagonians accused of smuggling, are addressed respectively to a *parathalassites* (*Ep. 10*) and a judge (*Ep. 11*). Letters 12-16 thematically belong together because all five of them are letters composed with a characteristic brevity. Mauropous obviously selected them and arranged them together with this particular quality in mind. Letters 17-18 are addressed to a certain ecclesiastic named Gregorios and in both Mauropous answers questions that had been posed by him on an earlier occasion. Another two letters (*Eps. 19-20*) deal with the same subject: the criticism of friends who disapproved of Mauropous' decision to abandon his λάθε βιώσας in order to embark on a new career. Two other letters, *Eps. 28-29*, were written to Ioannes Xiphilinos who was about to preside in the court as a judge in a case in which Mauropous was involved. Also grouped thematically (and chronologically) are *Eps. 60-62* written from Euchaita to former fellow teachers and also *Eps. 64-66* which may have been addressed to the Patriarch Michael Keroularios. Finally, letters 69 and 72 have been sent to the same person within a short period of time.

The sequential order in the collection, of course, could not have been made by any one else except by Mauropous. In the commentary, we have attempted to suggest a chronology for those letters that allow us to form a hypothesis discussing at the same time the reasons for assigning a date to them.

For a considerable number, however, it is not possible to make any suppositions, beyond the fact that they belong to one of the periods proposed above. More problematic is the last group of letters dating from Mauropous' episcopate in Euchaita. Excepting those that were clearly written shortly after his arrival there, the rest cannot be assigned a chronology. Considering that his ministry to the people of Euchaita extends to more than two decades, the letters he has chosen for publication are only a small fraction of his actual correspondence. This fact is also attested by Psellos' letters, several of which date from this period and show that the two men continued to correspond regularly. Again, we maintain that Mauropous was not interested in publishing a record of his correspondence. He was more interested in giving for publication only a select few that were carefully chosen in order to be read as works of epistolography. On the other hand, Mauropous made a conscious attempt through the selection he made to give a sort of autobiography. This is particularly true in his choice of letters. A good part of them underline his career from his early years to his ministry in Euchaita. In a sense, these letters together with his epigrams

and orations dramatize his life and work. Two of the last letters in his collection, *Ep.* 75 and 77 were written about the time he retired from his see. The first, we believe to be addressed to his successor. Accordingly, we have dated it around the year 1075. The other, which is the last letter of the collection, must have been written shortly after, when Mauropous returned to Constantinople retiring in the monastery of Saint John Prodromos of Petra, where he passed the rest of his life.

His epistolary style is simple and direct. However, Psellos regards his style as rather austere, though he readily admits that this austerity could all of a sudden blossom like a rose in the middle of winter¹⁰³. It would perhaps be more accurate to say that in his overall style Mauropous makes a conscious attempt to appear restrained, avoiding any kind of excess in the employment of stylistic figures or in the use of overly elaborate language. Psellos sees a possible influence in Mauropous' style from Gregory Nazianzus, but again this is not a pervasive influence. Mauropous, he remarks, approaches the great Cappadocian, but at the end he does not succeed in imitating him. In fact, he holds back as if he were afraid to imitate the style of the Father. So Psellos is inclined to liken his style to that of the rhetor Isocrates, even though again Mauropous proves to be somewhat more moderate¹⁰⁴.

The «austerity» which Mauropous cultivated in his style reflects to a certain degree his values, character and life-style, a life-style which in his own words avoided every kind of excess. His tendency towards using again and again the same stylized variation on the theme of moderation (μέτρον-ἀμετρία) shows his particular care for this quality¹⁰⁵. Psellos, who knew his philosophy of life, on more than one occasion censured his moderation because he believed that it was an injustice for a man of his talents to be withdrawn from the world: ἔγωγ' οὖν αὐτῷ πολλάκις τὴν ἀμετρίαν τῆς ἀδοξίας ἀνείδιζον...¹⁰⁶. It was this life-style of λάθε βιώσας that Psellos tried to persuade Mauropous to abandon and at the end he succeeded in convincing him. But Psellos is the first also to admit that this trait of Mauropous' character stems primarily from his «humilitv», which was in accordance with the Christian ideals after which he

103. Τοὺς τε ἐπιστολιμαίους τύπους ἐγνώκει ὡς ἄλλος οὐδεὶς, καὶ ἐνιαχοῦ μὲν στόφων αὐτῷ ὁ κρατήρ, ἀλλ' ἢ λέξις παρ' ἐλπίδας ἀνήσασα βόδον ἐν χειμῶνι παρέδειξε. Psellos, *Encomium*, Sathas *MB* V, 149, 22-25.

104. *ibid.* 150, 20-23. Karpozilos, *Μαυρόπουλος*, 167-169.

105. Karpozilos, *Μαυρόπουλος*, 105.

106. Psellos, *Encomium*, Sathas *MB* V, 155.

stroke¹⁰⁷.

To speak of the writing style of Mauropous (or of any other author of the Greek Middle Ages) and of the possible influences that might have shaped it is not an easy task. For one, we are dealing with a language which adhered to stereotyped forms and expressions, i.e. an artificial language that tended to cultivate antiquarian clichés and platitudes and whose stylistic doctrine favoured obscurity. Those who managed against all these odds to develop a personal style praiseworthy for its literary merits and originality are relatively few. But to return to the matter of Mauropous' style and the influence that Gregory of Nazianzus exerted on him, we are inclined to believe that this influence is best seen not so much in his writings as in his philosophy of life. In a sense, Mauropous modelled his life and work after the example of the great Cappadocian and this can be seen in several of his letters and epigrams, especially in those that were composed on the eve of his election to office. His protestations and laments, for instance, are more or less fashioned after his great example. Judging from what he has written in his letters and epigrams, it is clear that he valued most of all his personal freedom and dignity or as he very characteristically put it τὸ τῆς γνώμης ἐλεύθερον (*Ep.* 27, 7), ἡ ἐλευθερία, τὸ ὄντως ἀδιατίμητον χρῆμα (*Ep.* 48, 8-9). His option for a life devoted to contemplation and study (or as he calls it, λάθε βιώσας) is directly connected with his desire to stay free and independent. His involvement in the political life during the reign of Konstantinos IX and eventually his election to the see of Euchaita were at the expense of this free existence, which he so much idealized. In the description of those particular events, both in his letters and epigrams, he consciously imitates Gregory of Nazianzus. In fact, from his references to ancient and Christian authors, which is a standard feature in every collection of letters, Gregory of Nazianzus occupies a very special place. The literary allusions made in a letter, if they are not common place or mere proverbial, to an extent reveal the education and culture of the author. Though again it is dangerous on this basis alone to maintain what this person had actually read or not. At any rate, in the case of Mauropous we can be sure that his quotations from Gregory come directly from his readings. That he had a very good knowledge of the Cappadocian's works it is plainly attested not only from his two letters (*Eps.* 17-18), where he discusses concrete problems relating to Gregory's Orations, but also from a number of quotations he makes from his works. They are mostly ordinary passages, which as a rule are taken out of their proper context

107. ...συνέστελλε δὲ ἡ περὶ τὰ κρείττω εὐλάβεια, καὶ τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ἦθος καὶ τὸ καταφρονεῖν ὕψους θρόνων καὶ τῆς ἐκείθεν δόξης τε καὶ λαμπρότητος. *Ibid.* 155, 7-10.

and yet quite successfully adapted in the line of thought of Mauropous' discourse. Yet this method of incorporating these excerpts—which strikes us as rather unique—reveals Mauropous' exceptional knowledge of Gregory's writings.

Mauropous' letters have an unquestionable value for the history and culture of eleventh century Byzantium. To utilize them, however, as historical sources is not an easy task. The lack of chronological indications and the fact that they are transmitted without the names of the addressees make this effort often frustrating. Nevertheless, these letters give us an adequate idea of the milieu from which they sprang. They reflect Mauropous' rhetorical training and education and attest to the fact that his associates and friends were for the most part members of the secular and ecclesiastical officialdom. Apart from the fact that these letters mark important epochs in his life, they also display a sobriety which characterizes their content as much as their form. A cardinal feature in his correspondence is the delicate balance he maintains between the letter as an artistic production and as a way of written conversation with the absent.

III. MANUSCRIPTS

From the correspondence of Ioannes Mauropous there survives a total of seventy-seven letters, transmitted only in one manuscript, *Vatic. Gr. 676* (*Eps.* 1-77). Part of his correspondence, sixty-four letters, survive also in *cod. Atheniensis 2429* (*Eps.* 1-64), while another four letters are to be found as stray items in *cod. Fitzwilliam Museum 229* (*Eps.* 1, 6, 2, 15).

V = *codex Vaticanus gr. 676*, XI cent. Codex, on vellum, of 317 numbered folios; III additional leaves at the beginning. Leaves measure 27.9 × 20.8 cm. The manuscript is composed of forty-one quaternions, numbered α' - μα'. Apart from the letters, which cover fols. 43^r to 114^v, the manuscript includes several other works of Ioannes Mauropous: 1^r-42^r epigrams; 115^r-317^v orations. For a description of the manuscript, see R. Devreesse, *Codices Vaticani Graeci*, t. III, Vatican City 1950, 130-131.

V, the oldest and most complete manuscript containing the collected works of Mauropous, is not an autograph, but it may well have been written during his lifetime or soon after his death. At the bottom of fol. III^v there is a note by a later hand which makes it quite clear that the manuscript at one time belonged to the library of the monastery of Saint George of Mangana: ἀφιέρωθη τὸ παρὸν βιβλίον εἰς τὴν σεβασμίαν μονὴν τῶν Μαγγάνων εἰς ἄφεςιν τῶν ἡμετέρων ἁμαρτιῶν. εἴ τις δὲ βουλῆθει ἀφαιρῆσαι ταύτην, ἵνα ἐπισπάσῃται

τὰς ἀρὰς τῶν τῆ' θεοφόρων πατέρων καὶ ἐμοῦ τοῦ ἁμαρτωλοῦ¹⁰⁸. Another note in verse, by this same hand, at the bottom of fol. 1^r, further indicates that the manuscript had been in the possession of the monk Gabriel who donated it to the monastery of the Mangana:

Ἡ βίβλος ἦδε Γαβριὴλ μονοτρόπου,
ἦν καὶ ἀνατίθησι τῇ σεβασμίᾳ
μονῇ Μαγγάνων μάρτυρος Γεωργίου
εἰς ἄφεςιν μὲν <τῶν πρὶν ἡμαρτημένων>
Τοῦ γοῦν ἀφαιρήσαντος ἐκ ταύτης κρύφα
πυξίδα τήνδε ἐκ μονῆς τῶν Μαγγάνων
ἀρὰς φρικώδεις λήψεται τῶν ἁγίων
σὺν ταῖσδε τοῦ μάρτυρος, οὐ μέγα κλέος¹⁰⁹.

This manuscript was actually one of many that Gabriel donated to this monastery. A list of books bequeathed by him to the monastery survives in the form of a will in *cod. Vatic. Palat. Gr. 138*. A few of these books have been identified by Mercati¹¹⁰ and Volk¹¹¹ with surviving manuscripts on the basis of the dedicatory notes which Gabriel inscribed in them. *Vatic. Gr. 676* is in all likelihood that listed as no. 5 in the will¹¹². Apart from Gabriel's will, *Vatic. Palat. 138* contains a series of canons by Mauropous and the office which his nephew Theodoros *koitonites* dedicated to him¹¹³. The codex might have been Gabriel's private copy, for Gabriel seems to have had a taste for Mauropous' writings. It is no accident that Mauropous' writings occupied a prominent place in his library.

At the end of the codex, fols. 318^v-319^r contain an epigram dedicated to Mauropous written and apparently signed by his secretary Isaiah: Ἡσαΐας δὲ ταῦτα σοι θαρρῶν γράφει, πιστὸς λάτρις σὸς ὑπομνηματογράφος¹¹⁴. Written in a different hand, Lagarde assigned it to the fourteenth or fifteenth century¹¹⁵.

108. Bollig-de Lagarde, p. VII.

109. *ibid.*; S. G. Mercati, Un testament inédit en faveur de Saint-Georges des Manganes *REB* 6(1948) 39-40.

110. Mercati, Un Testament, 36ff.

111. O. Volk, *Die byzantinischen Klosterbibliotheken von Konstantinopel, Thessaloniki und Kleinasien*, Diss., Munich 1954, 27-28.

112. Volk, p. 25; Mercati, Un Testament, 39-40.

113. S. G. Mercati, Ufficio, 347.

114. R. Devreesse, *Codices Vaticani Graeci*, v. III, Vatican City 1950, 131.

115. Bollig-de Lagarde, p. IV.

Yet a closer examination of the script suggests that it is contemporary with Mauropous and that the codex evidently was prepared in his immediate circle¹¹⁵. One may conclude then that the codex was written during his lifetime or shortly after his death, so that it should provide a fairly accurate reflection of his choice and what he meant to say.

A = *codex Atheniensis* B. N. 2429, XIV cent. Codex, on paper, of 327 numbered leaves. Leaves measure 20.5 × 15 cm. Fols. 211^r-278^r contain the text of sixty-four letters of Ioannes Mauropous. The text of *Ep.* 64 breaks off in the middle of fol. 278^r not to be resumed. Formerly of the monastery of Saint John the Baptist in Serres, no. 177 (333), it was taken during World War I along with many other manuscripts of the monastery as war spoils to Bulgaria. However, after the Treaty of Neuilly in 1919, the greater part of this collection was returned (1924) and eventually transferred to the National Library in Athens¹¹⁷.

A is a miscellany containing mainly theological texts and excerpts from rhetorical works. Its contents have been described in a still unpublished catalogue prepared by the late Prof. Linos Politis. I will, therefore, confine myself to the following remarks: the sixty-four letters of Mauropous (fols. 211^r-278^r) are grouped together with two other epistolographical collections:

fols. 196^r-210^v Ἐπιστολαὶ κυροῦ Λέοντος τοῦ Σοφοῦ διαφοραὶ.

fols. 279^r-327^v Τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Γρηγορίου τοῦ Θεολόγου ἐπιστολαί.

F = *codex Fitzwilliam Museum* 229, XIV-XV cent. Codex, on paper, of 657 numbered pages written by a variety of hands. Leaves measure 23 × 15 cm. Pages 11 and 13 are taken up by four of Mauropous' letters (nos. 1, 6, 2 and 15). F is a miscellany devoted mainly to the rhetorical works of Libanios (Pp. 15-46, 59-118) and Demosthenes (Pp. 124-591). It also contains various grammatical works, excerpts from theological treatises and various notes. Its miscellaneous contents are described in detail by M.R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Fitzwilliam Museum*, Cambridge 1895, pp. 410-415.

V is a carefully written manuscript so that in general no serious corrections have been made by the editor in the text, except for the accentuation of

116. N. G. Wilson, *Books and Readers*, 13.

117. L. Politis, Τὰ ἐκ Σερρών χειρόγραφα ἐν τῇ Ἑθνικῇ Βιβλιοθήκῃ, *Ἑλληνικά* 4(1931) 525-526; Das Scriptorium und die Bibliothek des Prodromos-Kloster bei Serres, *Wandlungen, Studien zur antiken und neueren Kunst, Festschrift E. Homann-Wedeking*, Waldsassen-Bayern 1975, 278-295.

enclitics, the addition of the iota subscript and the division of words like διὰ τοῦτο, διὰ ταῦτα, διὰ παντός, which are written διατοῦτο, διαταῦτα, διαπαντός. The present edition of Ioannes Mauropous' correspondence is based on V, the earliest and most complete manuscript. Of little importance for this edition is A, because the alternative readings it offers are inferior. A good many errors of A are due to misreadings of the original: κοινήν = κενήν *Ep.* 6.34. περιτὰ = περὶ τὰ *Ep.* 8.11. πεπηγότος = πεπληγότος *Ep.* 19.11. τὸ σὸν δὲ = τοσονδε *Ep.* 28.15 etc. We note also a confusion in the use of εἰ, οἰ, η, ο and ω in the different forms of the verbs. But misspellings of this kind are more or less standard in manuscripts. Accordingly, all the orthographical errors of A have not been recorded in the apparatus. A comparison between the variants of V and A shows that A diverges from V primarily in spelling due in part to oversights or slips of the copyist. On the other hand, A produces substantially the same text as V, so that it is reasonable to postulate that both manuscripts derive from a common exemplar. The text of A, as compared with V, shows that is at least sometimes independent of V. It has separative errors as well as omissions against V. Separative errors include, e.g.: 6,34 κενήν : κοινήν A || 18,90 τοῦτω : τόπω A || 38,24 Ἰωάννειον : Ἰώνιον A || 55,2 οἴκτου εἴσπραξις : οἴκτος A || 58,7 εὐτύχηται : εὐτύχησεν A. Also the text of A has, among many other errors, a number of omissions of words and phrases, e.g.: 6,37-42 τῇ δὲ Κλαυδίου -ὀφθαλμῶν || 17,17 καὶ μῦθον - προσλαμβάνοντα || 17,80 ὑμεῖς || 32,13-14 ψυχῆς σου καί. On the other hand, A repeats the same errors as V and displays identical marginal notes in the same place in the text, e.g.: 10,8 γνώμη || 17,17 μῦθος || 28,19 ὠραῖον. Errors shared with V include, e.g.: 8,6 ὅσον : ὄσω VA || 18,105 Βηθαβαρά : Βηθαραβρά VA || 27,6 οὐδὲν : οὐδὲ VA || 31,22 ἐννόων : ἐννοῶν VA || 43,8 εὐλογιστίας : εὐλοστίαις VA.

Regarding the variants of F, if we exclude those that are clearly the result of carelessness on the part of the copyist, we are left with some readings which may indicate that F has preserved an earlier form of these four letters of Mauropous. But such a supposition cannot be substantiated on the basis of these few variants alone, for they could also be taken as the work of a later editor: 1,13 ἐπλησεν VA : ἐνέπλησεν F || 1,21-22 περιέχον VA : περιφέρων F || 1,35 διατειχίσματος VA : ἐπιτειχίσματος F || 2,11 γραφήν VA : σιγήν F || 15, 2-3 θεραπείας VA : παρρησίας F || 15,4 προσάγω VA : παράγω F.

V was edited in its entirety in 1881 by Lagarde (= Lag), who laid down the groundwork for a definite text of Mauropous' correspondence. In the introduction to this edition, Lagarde informs us that the text of V had already been copied by J. Bollig, the Vatican librarian, and was subsequently corrected by W. Studemund in 1879. The edition that resulted from this joint effort actually

amounted to little more than a faithful transcription of the contents of V.

In the present edition the letters of Ioannes Mauropopous are arranged in the order in which they are found in V.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- Attaleiates: *Michaelis Attaliatae Historia*, ed. W. Brunet de Presle - I. Bekker, (CSHB), Bonn 1853
- BHG³: *Bibliotheca hagiographica graeca*, ed. F. Halkin, I-III, Brussels 1957
- Bollig-de Lagarde: *Iohannis Euchaitorum metropolitae que in Codice Vaticano Graeco 676 supersunt*, ed. P. de Lagarde - J. Bollig, *Abhandlungen der historisch-philologischen Classe der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, 28 (1882)
- BCH: *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*
- CFHB: *Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae*
- Bury, *Administrative System*: J.B. Bury, *The Imperial Administrative System in the Ninth Century*, (*The British Academy Supplemental Papers* 1), London 1911
- ByzSla: *Byzantinoslavica*
- BZ: *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*
- CPG: E.L. a Leutsch - F.G. Schneidewin, *Corpus Paroemiographorum Graecorum*, I-II, Göttingen 1839-51
- Darrouzès, *Épistoliers: Épistoliers byzantins du X^e siècle*, ed. J. Darrouzès, (*Archives de l'Orient chrétien* 6), Paris 1960
- DTC: *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*
- GCS: *Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte*, Leipzig (Berlin) 1897ff.
- Grumel *Regestes*: V. Grumel, *Les Regestes des Actes du Patriarcat de Constantinople. Vol. I: Les Actes des Patriarches*. Fasc. II, Chalcedon 1936
- Hunger, I-II: H. Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner*, I-II, (*Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft* XII, 5, 1-2), Munich 1978
- JÖB: *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik*
- JRS: *Journal of Roman Studies*
- Karlsson: G. Karlsson, *Idéologie et cérémonial dans l'épistolographie byzantine. Textes du X^e siècle analysés et commentés*, Uppsala 1959
- Karpozelos, *Realia*: A. Karpozelos, *Realia in Byzantine Epistolography X-XXIc*, BZ 77 (1984) 20-37

- Karpozilos, *Μαυρόπουλος*: A. Karpozilos, *Συμβολή στη Μελέτη τοῦ Βίου καὶ τοῦ Ἔργου τοῦ Ἰωάννη Μαυρόποδος, (Πανεπιστήμιο Ἰωαννίνων, Ἐπιστημονικὴ Ἐπετηρίδα Φιλοσοφικῆς Σχολῆς 18)*, Ioannina 1982
- Kurtz-Drexl: *Michaelis Pselli Scripta minora*, ed. E. Kurtz et F. Drexl, I-II, Milan 1936-41
- Lefort, *Trois Discours*: J. Lefort, *Rhétorique et politique: trois discours de Jean Mauropous en 1047, Travaux et Mémoires 6 (1976) 265-303*
- Lyubarsky, *Mikhail Psell*: Ya. N. Lyubarsky, *Mikhail Psell. Lichnost' i tvorchestvo*, Moscow 1978
- Oikonomidès, *Listes de Préséance*: N. Oikonomidès, *Les Listes des Préséance byzantines des IX^e et X^e siècles*, Paris 1972
- PG: *Patrologiae cursus completus, Series Graeca*, ed. J.-P. Migne, Paris 1857-66
- Psellos, *Chron.* I-II: Michel Psellos, *Chronographie*, ed. E. Renauld, I-II, Paris 1926-28 (2nd rev. printing 1967)
- Psellos, *Encomium*: Michael Psellos, *Ἐγκώμιον εἰς Ἰωάννην τὸν θεοσεβέστατον μητροπολίτην Εἰδαῖτων καὶ πρωτοσύγκελλον*, ed. K.N. Sathas, *Μεσαιωνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη*, vol. V, Paris 1876, 142-167
- REB: *Revue des Études Byzantines*
- RE: *Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*. Neue Bearbeitung, hrsg. v. G. Wissowa, Stuttgart 1893-1978
- Sathas, *MB V*: K.N. Sathas, *Μεσαιωνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη*, vol. V, Paris 1876
- Scylitzes: *Ioannis Scylitzae Synopsis Historiarum*, ed. I. Thurn (CFHB vol. V) 1973
- Tomadakes: N.B. Tomadakes, *Βυζαντινὴ Ἐπιστολογραφία*, Athens 1969
- TM: *Travaux et Mémoires*
- Weiss: G. Weiss, *Oströmische Beamte im Spiegel der Schriften des Michael Psellos (Miscellanea Byzantina Monacensia 16)*, Munich 1973
- Wolska-Conus, *Les Écoles de Psellos*: W. Wolska-Conus, *Les Écoles de Psellos et de Xiphilin sous Constantin IX Monomaque, Travaux et Mémoires 6(1976) 223-243*

LIST OF SIGNS

- V = Vaticanus Gr. 676
 A = Atheniensis Gr. 2429
 F = Fitzwilliam Museum 229
 Lag = Lagarde
 <> = addenda
 {} = delenda

TEXT and TRANSLATION

THE LETTERS OF IOANNES, THE MOST HOLY
METROPOLITAN OF EUCHAITA

1

Nay, I saw the season not as spring but as autumn already advanced. Whence come then, now, this nightingale of spring? It calls not from some grove, nor from a far off wood, but —and this is the most astonishing thing— it flew into my very hands from whence now it sings in the mood of spring-time, casting from nigh a spell over my ears with the sweetness of music. Moreover, this most excellent bird appears to be —if I may become a little exquisite— in voice, a nightingale but in form a swallow. This is so, because on the one hand it sings clearly and sweetly and on the other, it marvellously blends in its appearance two contrasting colours: for the black colour of letters is enhanced by the whiteness of paper, just as the embroideries of an expensive purple are best set off against a bright and translucent cloth. Whether it is a nightingale or a swallow, this magnificent letter has filled my soul with every delight, persuading me to consider the season as a true second spring and to believe those who call this equinox by such a name. One could have assumed that it was indeed the first spring had it not been challenged by the malicious proverb one swallow does not make a spring. And if a second swallow had come flying along with it we would have been clearly convinced then that this was the first, the real spring, indeed, the one that ordinary folk commonly call early spring. But since «goodness is», as they say, «altogether a rare quality», one should consider this good presently, though it comes alone, by necessity also dear, especially since it

ΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΩΤΑΤΟΥ ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΙΤΟΥ ΕΥΧΑΪΤΩΝ
ΑΙ ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΑΙ

α' Ἐγὼ δὲ τὴν ὥραν οὐ μὲν οὖν ὡς ἔαρ ἐφάρων, ἀλλ' ὡς ἤδη μετόπωρον·
πόθεν οὖν νυνὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐαρινὴ ἀηδών; οὐκ ἀπ' ἄλσους ποθεν οὐδ' ἐκ
δρυμοῦ φωνοῦσα μακρόθεν, ἀλλ' ἐν τούτῳ τὸ πλεον ἔχει τοῦ θαύματος, ὅτι
5 πρὸς αὐτὰς πετασθεῖσα τὰς χεῖρας τὰς ἡμετέρας κάκειθεν ἡμῖν ἐαρινὰ
κελαδοῦσα τῷ τῆς μουσικῆς ἠδυσφώνῳ τὰς ἀκοὰς ἐγγύθεν κατακληεῖ.
δοκεῖ δ' ἢ πάντα βελτίστη, ἵνα τι μικρὸν καὶ παρακομψεύσωμαι, τὴν μὲν
φωνὴν ἀηδών, τὴν δὲ μορφὴν χελιδών· τὸ μὲν, ὅτι ἄδει λιγυρόν τι καὶ
10 μελιχρόν, τὸ δέ, ὅτι κέκραται θαυμαστῶς πως τὴν ὄψιν ἐξ ἐναντίων δύο
χρωμάτων· τῇ γὰρ τοῦ χάρτου λευκότητι τὸ τῶν γραμμάτων μέλαν ἐμπρέ-
πει, καθάπερ ὑφάσματι λαμπρῷ καὶ διαφανεῖ πολυτελοῦς πορφύρας ποι-
κίλματα. εἴτε οὖν ἀηδών εἴτε χελιδών ἢ θεσπεσία γραφή, ἠδονῆς πάσης
V f. 43v ἔπλησεν ἡμῖν τὴν ψυχὴν, καὶ τὸν καιρὸν ἡμᾶς ἔπεισε δευτέρον ὄντως
ἔαρ νομίσαι καὶ πιστεῦσαι τοῖς οὕτω τὴν ἰσημερίαν ταύτην προσαγο-
15 ρεύουσι. τάχα δ' ἂν που καὶ πρῶτον ἀντικρυς ἔδοξεν, εἰ μὴ τὴν βάσκα-
νον εὔρε παροιμίαν ἀνθισταμένην ὡς οὐκ ἐξὸν ποιεῖν ἔαρ χελιδόνι μιᾷ,
ἐπεὶ τοι καὶ {δευτέρας} ἐτέρας ἐπικαταπτώσης αὐτῆ, καθαρῶς ἂν ἡμῖν ὁ
καιρὸς ἐξενίκησεν εἰς τὸ πρῶτον καὶ μάλιστα καὶ κυριώτατον ἔαρ, ὃ
20 πρωτοκαίριον λέγειν τοῖς πολλοῖς σύνηθες. ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ πανταχοῦ τὰ καλά
φασὶ σπάνια, καὶ τὸ νῦν καλόν, εἰ καὶ μόνον, ἀναγκαίως ἀγαπητόν, ἄλλως

I: 5-6 κάκειθεν - κελαδοῦσα: cf. Aristoph. Pax. 800 || 16 οὐκ - μιᾷ: cf. CPG II 79, 531, 690 || 18-19 ὃ πρωτοκαίριον - σύνηθες: cf. Mich. Cerularium in PG 120, 725A || 19-20 CPG I 172, 462; II 89, 717

I: V 43^f-44^f A 211^f-212^f F p. 11

Tit. V= Ἰωάννου τοῦ ἀγιωτάτου μητροπολίτου Εὐχαΐτων αἱ ἐπιστολαί. A= Ἐπιστολαί Ἰωάννου μητροπολίτου Εὐχαΐτων. F= Ἰωάννου μητροπολίτου Εὐχαΐτων, τοῦ ἐπὶ ἡμερῶν ἀκμάσαντος Κωνσταντίνου βασιλέως τοῦ Μονομάχου, τοῦ καὶ διδασκάλου ὡς λέγεται <sic> τοῦ Ψελλοῦ. Ἐπιστολή. 2 δὲ: μὲν F || 3 ἢ post ἡμᾶς add. F || 4 φωνοῦσα: φανοῦσα F | τοῦτο F || 8 τι: τε F || 12 εἴτε χελιδών om. F || 13 ἐνέπλησεν F || 17 δευτέρας seclusi || 20 φησι F

contains everything that is most beautiful. For this wise and very dear bird sings to me not only its own melody, but it articulates all kinds of charm, like the song of the sirens and the irresistible force and persuasion of the flute, singing all the harmonious sounds together, and as if she were well prepared for a musical contest or for a performance, she sings with such a clear, strong and magnificent voice, captivating my ears, my heart and hands. So great then is the joy and the admiration with which I listen to this melody and the pleasure I derive from holding and carrying around this fine and melifluous instrument of this marvelous harmony. I pray that I may see with my own eyes its wise and ingenious creator and craftsman and hear him talking with my own ears, so that I may learn with greater certainty the difference that exists between a spring and a stream, or between a letter and a voice that speaks directly and with no obstruction or impediment.

2

«A candle at high noon» is superfluous as irrigation from a well is superfluous in the middle of winter and letters are equally superfluous when the carrier is a loquacious and talkative fellow. The truth of this statement will be clearly attested by this messenger, because the letters he brings will no longer have a chance to talk, once he begins to speak of his own affairs at length. Therefore, set aside these voiceless syllables to receive the living voice and lend

τε, και πᾶν εἴ τι κάλλιστον ἐν ἑαυτῷ περιέχον. οὐ γὰρ δὴ τὸν ἑαυτῆς ἐτι νόμον ἢ σοφὴ καὶ φιλιτάτη πρὸς ἡμᾶς φθέγγεται, ἀλλ' ἐναρθρὰ τε φωνεῖ, καὶ τὰ θέλγητρα πάντα, καὶ τὰς Σειρηνεῖους φῃδᾶς, καὶ τὴν τῶν ἰυγγῶν ἀμήχανον εἴτε βίαν εἴτε πειθῶ, καὶ τοὺς ἁρμονικοὺς φθόγγους ἅπαντας
25 ὁμοῦ συλλαβοῦσα, καθάπερ εἰς ἄμιλλαν μουσικῆς καὶ ἐπίδειξιν καλῶς παρεσκευασμένη, τορὸν τι καὶ μέγα καὶ λαμπρὸν ἐξόχως ἤχει, καὶ ὄλους
V f. 44r ἢ μᾶς ἤδη τῶν ὄτων, ἐτι δὲ καὶ τοῦ κόλπου καὶ τῶν χειρῶν ἐξαρτᾶ, οἷς τε τοῦ μέλους ἀκούομεν σὺν ἡδονῇ τοσαύτη καὶ θαύματι, οἷς τε κρατοῦμεν ἠδέως καὶ περιφέρομεν τὸ καλλιφωνότατον τοῦτο καὶ ποικιλόφθογγον
30 ὄργανον τῆς οὕτω θαυμαστῆς ἁρμονίας. εὐχόμεθα δὲ καὶ τὸν αὐτοῦ σοφὸν καὶ εὐμήχανον δημιουργὸν καὶ τεχνίτην ὀφθαλμοῖς τε θεάσασθαι, καὶ ἀκοαῖς λαλοῦντος ἀκοῦσαι, ἵνα γνῶμεν ἐτι σαφέστερον τὸ διάφορον ὅσον τῆς τε πηγῆς πρὸς τὸ ρεῖθρον, καὶ τῆς γλώττης πρὸς τὴν γραφήν, ὁμιλοῦσης ἀμέσως καὶ δίχα παντὸς διατειχίσματος καὶ κωλύματος

2

β' Περιττὸν μὲν λόγος ἐν μεσημβρία, περιττὴ δὲ μέσου χειμῶνος ἢ ἐκ φρεάτων ἀρδεῖα, περιττὰ δὲ τὰ γράμματα πολυφώνου καὶ λάλου τυχόντα τοῦ κομιστοῦ. ὅτι δ' ἀληθῆ τὰ τῆς γνώμης, μαρτυρήσει σαφῶς ὁ τοῖς παροῦσι διακονῶν· οὐκέτι γὰρ χώρα παρρησίας αὐτοῖς, ἐπειδὴν οὗτος
V f. 44v ἄρξῃται μακρηγορεῖν τὰ οἰκεῖα. τῶν ἀφώνων οὖν τούτων ἀποστὰς συλ-

23-24 Σειρηνεῖους φῃδᾶς: cf. Synes. Ep. 146,3 (257 Garzya); Proc. Gaz. Ep. 120,1 (61 Garzya-Loenertz) || 26-27 τορὸν τι - ἤχει: cf. Philostr. Vit. Soph. 1, 25, 10 (II 52 Kayser)

21 αὐτῷ F | περιέχον: περιφέρον F || 23 ἐναρθρᾶ F || 24 τὴν: τὸ F || 26 ἄμιλλαν F || 27 λαμπρὸ F || 28 καὶ ante ἀκούομεν add. F || 32 θεάσασθαι F || 34 γλώττης cum ττ supra σσ scripto A || 35 διατειχίσματος: ἐπιτειχίσματος F

2: 1 CPG II 37, 513

2: V 44^r A 212^r F p. 13
I περιττῆ: περιπεριττῆ A

your ears completely to this marvellous orator so that you may not waste so much water in vain, seeing that it is summer season and the heat that hangs over us becomes stifling and the use of water is indispensable for everything -if indeed he would prefer to speak by the water-clock rather than to speak with wine <in the water-clock>. Let him then commence his usual long speech; as for me, having extended my letter to this point, I hand over the rest to the flowing force of his tongue.

3

Some unsubstantiated report seems to have upset you and prompted the sudden appearance of the courier with these unexpected letters from you. On the basis of the repeated inquiries that I have made I can assure you that I have not discovered any false accusation against you. If, however, you were to be so accused, as you suspect —may it never come about or happen— I will be aware of the matter with God's help and, to the best of my ability, protect our interests. As it is, knowing that «hostility towards others without cause» is forbidden, I have kept your letter to myself giving rise for no such suspicion in anyone. But this provocation should not be prolonged or extended, especially as it is aimed against your local lord and ruler, a man who (as you well know) has the same influence with the authorities now in power as they have among themselves. Therefore, please, avoid «provoking to wrath a savage man». Practice what you preach by submitting to every authority for the Lord's sake; strive to silence the ignorance of foolish men by the superior qualities which you

λαβῶν, τὰς ἐμψύχους δέχου φωνάς, καὶ τῷ θαυμαστῷ δημηγόρῳ τὰς ἀκοὰς ὄλας δίδου, ὡς μὴ μάτην τοσοῦτον ἀναλίσκεις τὸ ὕδωρ. θέρους ᾧρα, καὶ ταῦτα καὶ τοσοῦτου πνίγους ἐπικειμένου, ὅταν ἢ τοῦ ὕδατος χρήσις ἀναγκαιοτάτη πρὸς ἅπαντα, εἶγε δὴ καὶ πρὸς ὕδωρ, ἀλλὰ μὴ
10 μᾶλλον πρὸς οἶνον δημηγορεῖν αὐτὸς ἔλοιτο. ὁ μὲν οὖν ἀρχέσθω τῆς συνήθους μακρολογίας, ἡμεῖς δ' ἄχρι τούτου τὴν γραφὴν παρατείναντες, τὸ ἐντεῦθεν τῇ ῥύμη τῆς ἐκείνου γλώττης παραχωροῦμεν.

3

γ' Ἀκοή τις ἄρα ματαία σοι τοὺς λογισμοὺς ἐθορύβησε, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο νῦν παρὰ σοῦ γραμματοφόρος ἀνέλπιστος καὶ ἀπροσδόκητα γράμματα. λέγω δὲ τεκμαιρόμενος, ἐξ ὧν πολλάκις ζητήσας, οὐδεμίαν ἐφώρασα διαβολὴν κατὰ σοῦ, εἰ μὲν οὖν μέλλοι τις ἔσεσθαι κατὰ τὴν σὴν ὑποψίαν,
5 μὴ μελλήσοι δὲ μηδὲ γένοιτο, τοῦτο σὺν θεῷ φυλαξόμεθα καὶ καθ' ὅσον οἶόν τε τὸ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐξασφαλισόμεθα· νυνὶ δὲ τὸ μάτην πρὸς ἀνθρώπων
V f. 45r φιλεχθρεῖν εἰδότες ἀπειρημένον, τό τε γράμμα ἐπέσχομεν καὶ οὐδεμίαν ὑπόνοιαν οὐδενὶ τοιαύτην παρέσχομεν. εἴη δὲ μέχρι τούτου σοι τὰ τοῦ παροξυσμοῦ προελθεῖν, περαιτέρω δὲ μὴ χωρήσαι, καὶ μᾶλλον ὀπόσα
10 πρὸς τὸν αὐτόθι δυνάστην σου καὶ ἄρχοντα τείνει· ὅς τοῦτο δύναται παρὰ τοῖς νῦν κρατοῦσιν, εὐ ἴσθι, ὃ καὶ παρ' ἀλλήλοις αὐτοί. ὥστε μὴ μοι σὺ τόνδ' ἐρεθίζεμεν ἄγριον ἄνδρα, ἀλλ' ὃ διδάσκεις αὐτός, ὑποταττόμενος πάσῃ ἐξουσίᾳ διὰ τὸν κύριον, τοῖς τε ἄλλοις οἷς ἔχεις περὶ πάντα πλεονεκτηήμασι, καὶ δὴ καὶ τῇ πρὸς τοὺς μείζονας εὐαρμοστίᾳ καὶ ἀνθυπεῖξει τὰς

6 τὰς ἐμψύχους - φωνάς: cf. Synes. Ep. 85, 78 (149 Garzya) || 7 ὡς - ὕδωρ: cf. CPG I 205 || 9-10 πρὸς ὕδωρ - ἔλοιτο: cf. Demosth. 41, 30

7 τὸ ante ὕδωρ om. F || 8 ᾧρα scripsi: ᾧρα VA Lag || 11 γραφὴν: σιγὴν F

3: 6-7 Prov. 3,30 || 12 Hom. Od. 9,494 || 12-13 ὑποταττόμενος - κύριον: cf. Rom. 13,1; Tit. 3,1 || 14-15 τὰς - φμιοῦν: cf. I Petr. 2,15

3: V 44^v-45^v, A 212^v-213^v
5 τοῦτον Lag || 7 γράμμα: γράμματα A

possess in everything, especially by your well-tempered submission to those in authority. Thus make the most of your time, since as you know, these days are more evil than ever, in the words of the Scriptures. For the rest you will be watched over by God and his angels, who all your life support you in their hands and who, I am convinced, will support you to the end, «lest you should strike your foot against a stone» or be touched by the lash of such a slander.

4

With the confidence I have in you through the rights of a neighbour and friend from the times of our fathers and even earlier, I ask on the strength of both one favour from my friend and neighbour: that the bearer of this letter be given a position among the secretaries of your distinguished authority. Look how easily your objection is resolved: you will say, I know well, that you have been burdened with many others like him by the government. But if the government has so much influence with you, excellent friend, will you not give a place to charity, even a small one, you her passionate lover and pursuer? You would, of course, offer a considerable <place in your heart> if I were to request it. That my trust and confidence in you is not baseless, this present request will clearly demonstrate. Fare well and rejoice and may you rise and ascend to ever greater ranks of distinction and glory.

15 τῶν ἀφρόνων ἀνθρώπων ἀγνωσίας σπεῦδε φιμοῦν, ἐξαγοραζόμενος τὸν καιρόν, ὅπερ ἤκουσας· ὅτι πονηραὶ νῦν, εἴπερ ποτέ, κατὰ τὸ ῥητὸν αἱ ἡμέραι. τὰλλα δὲ μελήσει θεῶ καὶ τοῖς ἀγγέλοις αὐτοῦ, οἳ σε παρὰ πάντα τὸν βίον ἐπὶ χειρῶν αἴρουσι, καὶ ἀροῦσιν, εὖ οἶδα, μέχρι παντός, *μή ποτε προσκόψῃς πρὸς λίθον τὸν πόδα σου*, μηδὲ μᾶστιξ ἐγγίση σοι τοιαύτης
20 διαβολῆς.

4

δ' Καὶ γειτονικοῖς δικαίαις πρὸς σὲ καὶ φιλικοῖς θαρρεῖν ἔχοντες ἐκ
V f. 45v πατέρων ἤδη | καὶ ἄνωθεν, ἐν ἐπ' ἀμφοτέροις αἰτοῦμεν, ἀγαθὴ πλησίον
καὶ γείτον, ὃν προσάγομεν τοῦτον διὰ γραφῆς τοῖς ὑπογραφεῦσιν ἐνταγῆ-
ναι τῆς περιφανοῦς ἐξουσίας σου. τὴν δ' ἀντίθεσιν ὄρα σοὶ διαλυομένην
5 ῥαδίως· ἐρεῖς γάρ, εὖ οἶδα, ὅτι πολλοὺς καὶ ἄλλοις τοιοῦτους ὑπὸ τῆς
δυναστείας ἐπεφορτίσθης. ἀλλ' εἰ δυναστεία τοσαῦτα παρὰ σοὶ δύναται,
τῇ ἀγάπῃ, θαυμάσιε, χάραν μίαν οὐ δώσεις, καὶ ταῦτα βραχεῖαν, ὁ θερμό-
τατος ταύτης ἑραστής τε καὶ σπουδαστής; δώσεις δηλαδὴ καὶ μεγάλην,
κἂν εἰ καὶ τοιαύτην ἐπιζητήσῃμεν. εἰ οὖν οὐκ εἰς μάτην ἡμῖν ἢ περὶ σοῦ
10 καὶ πίστις καὶ μαρτυρία, τὸ παρὸν σαφῶς δείξει. καὶ μοι χαίρων ὑγίαινε,
καὶ πρὸς μείζους ἔτι βαθμοὺς περιφανείας καὶ δόξης ἀνυψοῦ καὶ ἀνάβαι-
νε.

15-17 ἐξαγοραζόμενος - ἡμέραι: cf. Eph. 5,16; Col. 4,5 || 17-18 τοῖς ἀγγέλοις - αἴρουσι: cf. Matth. 4,6 || 18-19 Matth. 4,6; Ps. 90,11

4: V 45^{xy} A 213^v-214^r
9 κἂν Lag: κἂν VA

5

What rumour has stricken me so unexpectedly? My good friend ordains me as chartophylax? He brings me into affairs and promotes me as guardian of the common weal? I, who have eagerly avoided the limelight? I, who have learned, if any one has, to honour the «live unknown»? I, who cannot easily praise anyone else, not even him who rushes into such vexations and troubles? A man of this kind then, who has lived almost all his life in this manner, is there, in truth, someone who now forces him into public life, demanding that he make a new beginning and enter upon a new way of life? Be silent, man. Stop this kind of talk and plans, please. You consider me very ambitious or think that I admire power or that I am excited by dominions, thrones and honours. I, for whom a small corner and the contemplation of my self and God forever was quite enough all my life? Besides, even if there were someone, altogether passionately disposed to love of glory, how in this storm and amidst these tempests could he be willing and ready to be entrusted not only with a rudder, as you require of me, but to become an officer in command at the bow or even a sailor in the last place? Using sound reasoning and placing security above all else, it would be more opportune to lie down somewhere quietly, wrapped up and trembling near the hold of the ship, from whence one has the advantage of listening with his own ears to the outside storm but not seeing with his own eyes the impending peril. For this advantage that is to look away from evil can bring some rest and relief in difficult times, even if one cannot stop listening to, or escape the waves completely by throwing oneself out on land or sleeping indifferently, like Jonas in the past, and thus escaping the feeling of threat.

5

ε' Τίς προσέβαλε φήμη παρ' ἐλπίδας ἡμῖν; ἡμᾶς χαρτοφύλακας ὁ καλὸς ἑταῖρος χειροτονεῖ; ἡμᾶς εἰς πράγματα φέρει καὶ τοῦ κοινοῦ προστάτας προβάλλεται τοὺς τὰ μέσα φεύγειν ἐσπουδακότας; τοὺς τὸ λάθε βιώσας, εἴπερ τις ἕτερος, ἡμᾶς ἐγνωκότας; τοὺς οὐδ' ἄλλον ῥαδίως ἐπαινεῖν V f. 46r
5 ἔχοντας, ὅστις ἐαυτὸν εἰς ὀχλήσεις τοιαύτας ἐπιρρίπτει καὶ πράγματα; τὸν οὖν οὕτω μὲν ἔχοντα, τοιοῦτῳ δὲ βίῳ παρὰ μικρὸν ἐγγηράσαντα ἔστι νῦν πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ὧθῶν τις εἰς μέσον, καὶ πράττειν νέας ἀρχὰς καὶ πολιτείαν κελεύων ἐξ ὑπαρχῆς μετιέναι; εὐφήμησον, ἄνθρωπε· ἀπαγέ μοι τούτου καὶ τοῦ λόγου καὶ τοῦ σκοποῦ. ὄρᾳς γὰρ ὡς πάνυ φιλοδοξοῦμεν 10 ἡμεῖς ἢ τὴν ἐξουσίαν θαυμάζομεν ἢ πρὸς δυναστείας καὶ θρόνους καὶ τιμὰς ἐπτοήμεθα, οἷς τὸν πάντα βίον ἐξήρκεσε βραχεῖα γωνία καὶ τὸ πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς καὶ θεὸν διὰ παντὸς ἐπεστράφθαι; ἄλλως τε κἂν πάνυ τις ἢ περικαῶς διακείμενος πρὸς ἔρωτα δόξης, πῶς ἂν ἐν τοσοῦτῳ χειμῶνι καὶ ταραχῶν πραγμάτων μὴ ὅτι πιστευθῆναι πηδάλιον, ὡς αὐτὸς ἡμᾶς ἀξιοῖς, 15 ἀλλ' ἢ πρῶτος καταστῆναι ἢ καὶ ναύτης γενέσθαι τὸ τελευταῖον προθυμηθεῖν καὶ δέξαιτο; λογισμῶ τε σῶφρονι χρώμενος, καὶ ἀσφαλείας ὅλως V f. 46v ἀντιποιοῦμενος, δέον ἡσυχῇ κατακεῖσθαι που μᾶλλον, ἢ συγκεκαλυμμένον καὶ τρέμοντα παρὰ τὴν ἀντλίαν αὐτὴν, καὶ τοσοῦτον γοῦν ἐντεῦθεν παρακερδαίνειν, ὅσον τὰς ἐκτὸς τρικυμίας καὶ τὸν ἐπικείμενον κίνδυνον 20 τοῖς ὡσὶ μὲν ἀκούειν, μὴ καθορᾶν δὲ τοῖς ὄμμασιν. ἐπειδήπερ καὶ τοῦτο ῥαστώνην οἶδε φέρειν τινὰ καὶ κουφισμὸν ἐν δεινοῖς, τὸ πόρρω τοῦ κακοῦ τὴν ὄψιν ἀπάγειν, κἂν μὴ καὶ τὴν ἀκοὴν δύνηται τις, ἢ τὸν κλύδωνα τελέως ἐκδύς καὶ ῥίψας ἑαυτὸν εἰς γῆν ἔξω, ἢ καθεύδων ἐξ ἀκηδίας, ὡς τὸ πρὶν Ἰωνᾶς, καὶ τὴν αἴσθησιν οὕτω τῆς ἀπειλῆς διαφεύγων.

5: 3 τοὺς - ἐσπουδακότας: cf. Greg. Naz. Ep. 131, 3-4 (II 20 Gallay) | CPG II 183 || 12-17 ἄλλως - ἀντιποιοῦμενος: cf. Greg. Naz. Orat. II, 5, (92,4-6 Bernardi); PG 35,412B; Orat. XLIII, 26 (PG 36,532B) || 23-24 ῥίψας - Ἰωνᾶς: cf. Ionas 2:11; 4:5

5: V 45'-47' A 214'-216'

9 οὐ post ὡς suppl. Lag. || 12 κἂν Lag: κἂν VA || 17 ἡσυχῇ scripsi: ἡσυχῇ VA Lag || 22 κἂν Lag: κἂν VA

To the extent that I am master of myself I will then do this: I will try to stay out of the tempest and the storm, as I am now, and inasmuch as it is possible I will cling to safety. For this office a worthy person shall be found with the help of God. Because even now the devout have not completely disappeared from the face of the earth, according to the old prophetic lamentation, «but there is still someone» among men who is sufficiently capable of performing this excellent service for the Church. Those who administer the affairs of the Church should seek out this person. As for me, knowing quite well my limits and realizing the yoke on my neck and the burden on my back, I yield to those stronger than I, because I love an easy security, perhaps somewhat inglorious but for the most part free from danger. Therefore, pray that your friend may not fail to achieve this, but that he may arrive at the Lord's harbour of tranquility by a gentle breeze and so, on a calm sea, and that he may be able to cross the rough sea of this age, it would be an exaggeration to say without getting wet, but at least without getting drowned, through the guidance of the mighty hand of God. As for this precarious rather than profitable enterprise, let it be the concern of those who pursue gain, for they would not be displeased to fight with storms or lead the ship through high waves. Because the expectation of gain makes one capable of everything. For anyone who puts no value on pursuing gain and wealth, it is unusually absurd and stupid to take risks in vain.

This is the account you have in the defense of a friend from your friend. I have proposed the same to his Majesty himself and to the other authority, the sacred and more divine. Let this be my defense through you before everyone. May you enjoy the greatest honours and be reckoned and placed among the powerful as one of them, until the blessed and the only almighty receives you as partaker of his own blessedness.

25 Τοῦτο δὴ καὶ ποιήσομεν ἐφ' ὅσον ἑαυτῶν ἐσμεν κύριοι· ἔξω σάλου καὶ ζάλης, ὥσπερ ἔχομεν νῦν, διαμενεῖν πειρασόμεθα καὶ καθ' ὅσον οἶόν τε τοῦ ἀσφαλούς ἀνθεξόμεθα. ὁ βαθμὸς δὲ τὸν ἀξίον εὐρήσει παρὰ θεοῦ· πάντως γὰρ οὐκ ἐξέλιπε καὶ νῦν εὐλαβῆς ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς, κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν πάλαι προφητικὸν ὄδυρμόν, ἀλλ' ἔστι τις ἐτι συνίων ἐν ἀνθρώποις καὶ
 30 ἱκανῶς ἔχων ταύτην τὴν καλὴν λειτουργίαν ἐκπληρῶσαι τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ.
 V f. 47r τοῦτον δὴ καὶ ζητείωσαν οἱ ταύτην οἰκονομοῦντες. ἡμεῖς | δὲ τὸ μέτρον ἑαυτῶν εὐ εἰδότες, καὶ τὸν τε ζυγὸν ὑπὲρ τὸν αὐχένα τὸν καθ' ἡμᾶς τό τε φορτίον ὑπὲρ τὸν νῶτον γινώσκοντες, τούτων μὲν τοῖς ἡμῶν δυνατωτέροις παραχωροῦμεν, αὐτοὶ δ' ἀγαπῶμεν ἐλαφρὰν σωτηρίαν. ἴσως μὲν που
 35 καὶ ἄδοξον, τὸ δὲ πλέον ἀκίνδονον. ταύτης τοιγαροῦν εὐχου μὴ διαπεσεῖν σοι τὸν φίλον, ἀλλ' ὑπ' αὔρα πραεῖα καὶ οὕτως ἡμέρῳ κύματι πρὸς τὸν λιμένα τῆς γαλήνης τοῦ θεοῦ καταντῆσαι, τὸ τραχὺ πέλαγος τοῦτο τοῦ παρόντος αἰῶνος —πολὺ μὲν ἀβρόχως εἶπειν, ἀκαταποντίστως δ' οὖν ὁμως— τῇ τῆς ὑψηλῆς χειρὸς κυβερνήσει δυνηθέντα περᾶσαι. τῆς δ'
 40 ἐπισηφαλοῦς οἶμαι πλέον ἢ ἐπικερδοῦς ἐμπορίας ἐκείνοις μελέτω, τοῖς τὰ κέρδη μεταδιώκουσιν, ὡς μηδὲν δυσχεραίνοιεν πρὸς τὰς καταγίδας πικτεῦοντες καὶ τὴν ναῦν διὰ κλύδωνος πολλοῦ παραπέμποντες· ἱκανὴ γὰρ πρὸς ἅπαντα τοῦ κέρδους ἢ προσδοκία. ᾧ δὲ λόγος οὐδεὶς χρηματισμοῦ
 V f. 47v τε καὶ πλοῦτου, ἄλογον ἐκτόπως καὶ ἄγροικον | διακινδυνεύειν ἐπὶ μα-
 45 ταίῳ.

Τοῦτον ἔχεις ἀπόλογον ὑπὲρ φίλου καὶ παρὰ φίλου· ταῦτα προετεινάμεθα καὶ πρὸς τὸ κράτος αὐτὸ καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἑτέραν ἀρχήν, τὴν ἱεράν τε καὶ θειοτέραν· ταῦτα διὰ σοῦ καὶ πρὸς ἅπαντας ἡμῖν ἀπολελογησθῶ. αὐτὸς δέ μοι χαίρων ἐμπρέποις ταῖς μεγίσταις ἀρχαῖς, καὶ ὡς δυνατὸς
 50 τοῖς δυνάσταις συνεξετάζοιο καὶ συντάττοιο, μέχρις ἂν ὁ μακάριος καὶ μόνος δυνάστης τῆς ἑαυτοῦ σε προσλάβοι μακαριότητος μέτοχον.

28 οὐκ - γῆς: cf. Mich. 7,2 || 29 Ps. 13,2

26 διαμένειν Lag || 29 συνίων scripsi: συνίων VA Lag || 33 τοῦτον A

«Speech sweeter than honey flows from the tongue» of yours, oh excellent one, and from your hands (I do not know how), a swarm of birds comes flying to me as if from a fertile and rich nest. This is «an unexpected invitation to a table or a free banquet», to cite appropriately a «theological» passage, that makes me no longer wonder (even though it is amazing) about that flock of quails which the divine tongues of prophets regard as marvel — that «it rained winged birds like the sand of the seas». Indeed, your gift makes even that story believable, dismissing because of its likeness to the miracle the greater part of its incredibility.

So if you wish, regret your transfer from the place you were. Because with what you are doing, rather through what you are experiencing, you confirm the proverb which says «last year always better», thus defining the past as better than the present. For such is, in general, the fickle and hard-to-please nature of human weakness, which considers «an over-all change as sweeter», as in the proverb, but when it attains the change that it desired at first, carries along both the desire and the meaning of the proverb somehow and no less seeks again a change from the present, for her appetite for novelty is infinite. But as it was said, if you think so, regret your transfer from Paphlagonia to Boucellarion. However, a disappointment like yours, I think, shall have no place with us, because in your lack of provisions and poverty, as you call it, I take pleasure not in a poor but rather rich way, indulging myself luxuriously in the many and generous gifts received from there. So that even in this respect, therefore, you may appear more distinguished than you really are, saying that you are poor and yet making others rich and likening yourself to a great example, if indeed

- ς' Σοῦ καὶ ἀπὸ γλώσσης, ὃ βέλτιστε, μέλιτος ἡδίων ῥέει αὐδῆ, καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν χειρῶν, οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως, ὀρνίθων ἀγέλαι πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἵπτανται ὡς ἐκ καλιῶν τινων ἄλλων πολυγόνων καὶ πολυφόρων. ὄψον αὐτόματον, ἀπραγμάτευτος πανδαισία, τὸ θεολογικὸν εἰπεῖν εὐκαιρον, ὡς μὴ θαυμαστὸν ἡμῖν δοκεῖν ἔτι, καίπερ ὄν θαυμαστὸν, τὸ τῆς ὀρτυγομήτρας ἐκείνης, ἦν καὶ προφητῶν θεῖα γλῶσσαι διὰ θαύματος ἄγουσιν, ὡσεὶ ἄμμιον ἔβρεξε, V f. 48r λέγουσαι, πετεινὰ πτερωτά· | τὸ γὰρ καθ' ἡμᾶς τοῦτο πρᾶγμα πιστὸν κάκεινο ποιεῖ, τῇ ὁμοιώσει τοῦ θαύματος τὸ πολὺ καταλῦον τοῦ ἐκεῖ παραδόξου.
- 10 "Ὡστε σοὶ μὲν εἰ βούλει, μεταμελέτω τῆς τῶν τόπων ἀμείψεως· ὡς ἂν οἷς ποιεῖς, μᾶλλον δὲ δι' ὧν πάσχεις, τὸ τῆς παροιμίας πιστώσει, αἰεὶ τὰ πέρισι βελτίω τιθείσης, καὶ τὸ παρελθὸν τοῦ παρόντος κρεῖττον ὀριζομένης· τοιοῦτον γὰρ ὡς ἐπίπαν τὸ τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης ἀσθενείας ἀψίκορον καὶ δυσάρεστον· μεταβολὴν μὲν πάντων γλυκὴ κατὰ τὸν εἰπόντα νομίζει, ὅταν 15 δὲ μεταβάλῃ πρὸς τὸ τέως ποθοῦμενον, συνεφέλεται πως κάκεισε, τοῦτο δὴ τὸ πάθος καὶ τὸ ἀπόφθεγμα, καὶ οὐδὲν ἦττον πάλιν μεταβολὴν ζητεῖ τοῦ παρόντος, καὶ οὕτως εἰς ἄπειρον αὐτῇ τὸ φιλόκαινον τῆς τοιαύτης ὀρέξεως. πλὴν ὅπερ εἴρηται, σοὶ μὲν, εἶπερ δοκεῖ, μεταμελέτω τῆς Παφλαγονόθεν ἐπὶ τὸν Βουκελλάριον μεταθέσεως, παρ' ἡμῖν δ' οὐδεμίαν 20 χῶραν ἔξειν ἡγοῦμαι τὸν τοιοῦτον μετάμελον, τῆς σῆς ἀπορίας καὶ πε- V f. 48v νίας, ὡς φῆς, οὐ πενιχρῶς οὐ γὰρ οὖν, | ἀλλὰ καὶ λίαν πλουσιῶς κατατροφῶσι, καὶ τοῖς αὐτόθεν πολλοῖς καὶ φιλοτίμοις δωροφορήμασιν ἐνευπαθοῦσιν οὕτω πολυτελῶς, ἵνα κἂν τούτῳ δόξης σεμνότερος αὐτὸς ἑαυτοῦ, λέγων μὲν εἶναι πένης, πλουτίζων δὲ ἄλλους, καὶ πρὸς μέγα παράδειγμα

6: 1 Hom. Il. 1, 249 || 3-4 Greg. Naz. Orat. XLIII PG 36,501D || 5 τὸ - ἐκείνης: cf. Exod. 16,13; Num. 11,31 || 6-7 Ps. 77,27 || 11-12 CPG II 659; Karathanasis 61-62 || 14 CPG II 523

6: V 47^v-49^r A 216^r-217^v F p. 11
1 Σοῦ: Τοῦ F | καὶ¹ om. F | γλώττης F || 4 πανδεσία F || 7 λέγουσι F || 8 θαύματος F || 11 δι' ὧν: ἀφ' ὧν F || 12 πέρισι F | βλετίω F | τιθείσης: τιθείς F || 13 ἀψίκορον F || 14 μεταβολὴ F || 18 ὀρέξεως A || 18-19 Παφλογονόθεν Lag || 19 Βουκελλάριον scripsi: βουκελλάριον Lag || 22 δωροφορήμασιν: δωρήμασιν F || 23 κἂν Lag | σεαυτοῦ A

you know the One who became poor so that by His poverty we may become rich. But I would rather pray for the other to be said and applied to us, that from his fulness we have all received and certainly not from his poverty, as you now lead me to suspect. I prophesy this, then, to you (being as much an excellent seer as a clever conjecturer) and promise to your fraternity only this much and may God guide my words: do not be disturbed by your first experiences in the office, the future should give you good hopes, because (as you have read) «neither the character of a man» nor the nature and the virtue of a land are at once appreciated «except through a long period of time and a rather full association». Anyway, it will not take very long (I know that well) to convince you to declare in another way your present «empty happiness», as you call it, new happiness, once you chance upon richer purses and more prosperous cities and households.

As for Claudiopolis, do not reproach her at all for her poverty, being half-dry and half-dead because of the half-blindness of her shepherd, as you yourself write either in jest or in truth. I suppose, the unfortunate city shall stop completely breathing as soon as the second of the despot's eyes is blinded, either by advanced old age or by the hands of others which are skilled at curing eye-disease, like those first miraculous hands. May you always shine forth and display such things, you the bright and radiant eye of the State, and, if possible, may you hold back a little your generous and enriching hand, so that you do not attain one of the two things: either you succeed and you cause grief or — I shall pass over the converse, to avoid blasphemy.

25 σαυτὸν ἀπεικάζων, εἶγε τὸν πτωχεύσαντα οἶδας, ἴν' ἡμεῖς τῇ ἐκείνου πτωχεία πλουτίσωμεν. εὐχομαι δὲ μᾶλλον τὸ ἕτερον ἐφ' ἡμῖν καὶ εἶναι καὶ λέγεσθαι, τὸ ἐκ τοῦ πληρώματος αὐτοῦ ἡμεῖς πάντες ἐλάβομεν, μὴ μέντοι τοῦ ὑστερήματος, ὡς νῦν παρέχεις ὑπονοεῖν. τοῦτο δὴ καὶ μαντεύομαι, μάντις ἄριστος ὢν ὡς δεξιὸς εἰκαστής, καὶ μικρὸν ὅσον ὅσον
30 κατεπαγγέλλομαί σου τῇ ἀδελφότητι, σὺν θεῷ δὲ ὁ λόγος· μὴ γὰρ δὴ πού τὰ πρῶτά σε τῆς ἀρχῆς θορυβεῖτω, ἀλλὰ θαλπέτω τὰ μέλλοντα, ἐπεὶ, καθ' ἄπερ ἀνέγνως, οὔτε ἦθος ἀνδρὸς εὐθὺς ἀλωτὸν οὔτε χώρας φύσις καὶ ἀρετή, ὅτι μὴ χρόνῳ μακρῷ καὶ συνουσίᾳ τελεωτέρῃ. ἃ καὶ σὲ πείσει πάντως οὐκ
V f. 49r εἰς μακράν, εὐ οἶδ' ὅτι, τὴν παρὰ σοὶ ἴνυν ταύτην κενὴν μακαρίαν, καινὴν
35 τρόπον ἕτερον ἀνειπεῖν μακαρίαν, ἐπὰν ἀδροτέροις βαλλαντίοις ἐντύχοις καὶ πόλεσι καὶ οἴκοις εὐδαιμονεστέροις καὶ μείζοσι.
Τῇ δὲ Κλαυδίου μὴ πάνυ τὰ τῆς ἀπορίας ὀνειδίξει, ἡμιζήρῳ πως οὔση καὶ ἡμιθνήτῳ διὰ τὸ τοῦ ποιμένος ἡμίτυφλον, ὡς αὐτὸς εἶτε παίζων εἶτε πρὸς ἀλήθειαν γράφεις. τάχα δὲ πού καὶ τέλεον ἢ κακοδαίμων ἀποψυγή-
40 σεται, ἐπειδὴν ἢ γῆρας βαθύτερον ἢ καὶ χεῖρες ἄλλαι σοφαὶ τὴν θεραπείαν τῆς ὀφθαλμίας κατὰ τὰς πρώτας ἐκείνας καὶ τὸν ἕτερον σβέσωσι τῶν δεσποτικῶν ὀφθαλμῶν. σὺ δ' ἀεὶ μοι τοιαῦτα λάμπεις καὶ φαίνεις, ὁ τῆς πολιτείας λαμπρὸς καὶ διαυγῆς ὀφθαλμός, καὶ τὴν μεγαλόδωρον χεῖρα καὶ πλουτοδότιν, εἰ δυνατόν, ἐπέχοις μικρόν, ἵνα μὴ τῶν δύο τὸ ἕτε-
45 ρον, ἢ τυγχάνων λυπῆς ἢ — τὸ ἀντιστρέφον σιγήσομαι, φειδοῖ τοῦ βλασφημοῦ.

25-26 ἴν' - πλουτίσωμεν: cf. II Cor. 8,9 || 27 ἐκ - ἐλάβομεν: cf. Ioann. 1, 16 || 32-33 Greg. Naz. Orat. XLIII, 18 (PG 36,520C) || 34 Lucian. Hermot. 71; Navig. 11

32 καί: ἢ F || 34 νῦν om. F | κενήν: κοινήν A || 35 βαλλαντίοις F || 36 εὐδαιμονοστέροις F || 37-42 τῇ δὲ Κλαυδίου - ὀφθαλμῶν om. A || 40-41 τῇ θεραπείας F | 42 δεσποτικῶν: δεσποτῶν F || 43 καὶ διαυγῆς om. F || 45 τ' ἀντιστρέφον F

Having confidence in the rights of friendship and in addition to many others believing in the communion of the word, I wanted both to complain to you a little as a friend and to reproach you for your lack of friendship, the undeniable proof of which is if nothing else, the burden which you exercise over those who manage my property there. Respecting, however, those things on account of which we have the confidence to rebuke the wrongdoer and, in addition, honouring your authority, and in order not to make my wound worse now by scratching it, I refrain from blaming you, even if the common talk is in every respect true, but nevertheless I extend my letter from afar to you as if it were my right hand. And I pronounce these griefs as forgotten and I make steadfast agreements for the future and behold, I give and receive pledges, imposing upon you the correction of the above mentioned grievances, if anything like that has happened, and furthermore the retraction of what you said to these same people, which you should not consider enough to demonstrate only with words but with deeds as well just as it is said in cases that concern even worse things. Upon myself I impose the debt of prayers and the acknowledgment of gratitude to you for this restitution, which I begin to render now in a modest way through this letter. My first offering is as follows: may the Father of love, the divine love, repay you on her behalf with magnificent rewards, glorifying you here on earth according to your merit as he is righteous; for He is also glorified in you and by you, and may He, after your departure from here, decorate with the crown of grace your head which is very dear to me.

ζ' Φιλικοῖς τε δικαίοις καὶ πολλοῖς ἑτέροις θαρροῦντες, ἔτι δὲ τῆ τοῦ
 V f. 49v λόγου κοινωνία πιστεύοντες, ἐβουλόμεθα μὲν σοὶ φιλικῶς τι καὶ μέμψασθαι καὶ τὴν ἀφιλίαν προσονειδίσαι, ἧς εἰ καὶ μηδὲν ἕτερον, ἀλλ' ἦγε
 5 τηλικαύτη βαρύτης πρὸς τοὺς μετιόντας αὐτόθι τὴν τῶν ἡμετέρων οἰκονομίαν ἀψευδὲς κατέστη μαρτύριον, εὐλαβοῦμενοι δ' ὁμως αὐτά τε ταῦτα
 πρὸ πάντων δι' ἃ θαρρεῖν ἔχομεν ἐπιπλήττειν τῷ ἀδικοῦντι, καὶ προσέτι τὴν ἐξουσίαν, ὡς μὴ μείζον τάχα τὸ τραῦμα ποιήσαιμεν ἑαυτοῖς ἐπιξαι-
 νοντες, τοῦ μὲν ἐπιτιμᾶν ἀπεχόμεθα, κἄν ἀληθέστατα πάντων ἢ τὰ θρυλού-
 10 μενα, ὡς δεξιᾶν δὲ μακρόθεν τὴν ἐπιστολὴν σοὶ ἐμβάλλομεν. καὶ ἀμνηστίαν μὲν ὥσπερ τῶν ἀνιαρῶν καταψηφίζομεθα, συνθήκας δὲ ἀσφαλεῖς
 ὑπὲρ τοῦ μέλλοντος πράττομεν, καὶ τὰ πιστὰ παρ' ἀλλήλων λαμβάνομεν ἰδοὺ καὶ διδόμεν, σοὶ μὲν τὴν τῶν φθασάντων διόρθωσιν, εἴ τι καὶ τοιοῦτον
 γέγονεν, ἐπισκῆπτοντες καὶ πρὸς γε τὴν εἰς αὐτοὺς ἐκείνους παλινο-
 15 διάαν, ἣν μὴ λόγοις, ἀλλ' ἔργοις, ὥσπερ καὶ τὰ χεῖρονα λέγεται, καταξιώ-
 V f. 50r σον ἐπιδείξασθαι, ἑαυτοῖς δ' ἐπιβάλλοντες τὴν τῶν εὐχῶν ὀφειλὴν καὶ τὸ χάριτας εἶσεσθαι τῆς θεραπείας σοὶ ταύτης. ὧν καὶ ἤδη μετρίως διὰ
 τῆς γραφῆς ἀπαρχόμεθα. ἡ ἀπαρχὴ δὲ τοιαύτη· ὁ τῆς ἀγάπης πατήρ, ἡ ἀγάπη, τοὺς ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς σοὶ μισθοὺς μεγαλοπρεπεῖς ἀντιδοίη, δοξαζόμενός σε κἀνταῦθα πρὸς ἀξίαν ὡς δίκαιος, ἅτε καὶ δοξαζόμενος ἐν σοὶ τε
 20 καὶ παρὰ σοῦ, καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἐντεῦθεν δὲ μεταχώρησιν τῷ τῶν χαρίτων στεφάνῳ τὴν φιλάτην ἐμοὶ κατακοσμῶν κεφαλὴν σου.

7: ἡ φιλικοῖς - θαρροῦντες: cf. supra Ep. 4,1 || 2 λόγου κοινωνία: cf. Clem. Str. I.1, 5,30 (PG 8,692C) || 9 δεξιᾶν - ἐμβάλλομεν: cf. infra Ep. 16,1; Greg. Naz. Ep. 239, 3-4 (II 129 Galloway) || 13-14 τὴν - παλινοδιάαν: cf. CPG II, 766 || 14 μὴ - ἔργοις: cf. I Ioann. 3, 18

7: V 49^v-50^r A 217^v-218^v

8 κἄν Lag: κἄν VA || 12 εἴ τι: ἔτι Lag

Every act of kindness affords no little pleasure to those who are not altogether small-minded and who have a meager sense of mercy and can delight the givers no less than the receivers. Because goodness is by nature pleasant and in a sympathetic manner affects the soul which is actively disposed to it. The act of sharing goodness especially with those who, in my judgement are worthy, be assured, is all the more graceful as it is more honorable. But who would be more worthy of receiving something good than this *akolouthos*, who has excelled above all people and for this reason is dear to everybody and on whose behalf these words are being written in accord with his request and command? You will do well to give him your consideration granting him everything according to his wishes, because he asks nothing impossible or troublesome from you, but only the familiarity of those who are your own, since you are by nature intimately disposed to goodness anyway. As for the rest, honour the man with proper respect and esteem, because while being wise and shrewd in everything, he is not unaware of our very important and most unusual relationship, I mean—but how could I say it suitably— our friendship which joins and unites our souls. Therefore, be convinced and grant the favour altogether, so that you may take no less pleasure yourself in performing this goodness and in the testimony of your conscience. I have done my part, for the man asked nothing more of me. But your part, my brother, I shall surely witness not long from now, perhaps before I depart, and I hope to see it done perfectly, to the extent that our hope guarantees. May your noble nature not put this hope to shame or betray it in any respect. This is the sum of my prayers.

η' Καὶ πᾶσα μὲν εὐποιΐα τοῖς μὴ πάνυ φαύλοις τὴν γνώμην, μηδὲ μικροψύχοις τὸν ἔλεον, ἡδονὴν οὐ μετρίαν οἶδε χαρίζεσθαι καὶ τοὺς ποιούν-
 5 τας οὐχ ἦττον ἢ τοὺς πάσχοντας τέρπειν· φύσει γὰρ ἡδὺ τὸ καλὸν καὶ
 συνδιατίθησιν οὕτω τὴν ἐνεργοῦσαν ψυχὴν· ἢ πρὸς τοὺς ἀξίους δὲ μάλι-
 10 στα τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ κοινωνία τοσοῦτον, εὐ ἴσθι, παρ' ἐμοὶ κριτῆ χαριέστε-
 ρον ὅσον καὶ τιμώτερον. τίς δ' ἂν ἀξιώτερος δόξειε πρὸς τὸ καλὸν τι
 V f. 50v παθεῖν τοῦ ἐν ἀνθρώποις καλλίστου — καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τοῖς πᾶσι προσφι-
 λοῦς — ἀκολούθου, ὑπὲρ οὐ τὰδε γράφεται, κατ' ἐντολὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ παρά-
 κλησιν; ὅ καλῶς ποιήσεις προσσχών, καὶ χαρισάμενος ἅπαν τὸ κατὰ
 15 γνώμην αὐτῷ· αἰτεῖ γὰρ οὐδὲν τῶν ἀδυνάτων ἢ φορτικῶν, ἀλλὰ τὴν τῶν
 οἰκείων οἰκείωσιν πρὸς σὲ τὸν καὶ ἄλλως οἰκείως περὶ τὰ καλὰ διακείμε-
 νον. τὰ τ' οὖν ἄλλα τὸν ἄνδρα τῆς πρεπούσης ἀξίωσον αἰδοῦς καὶ τιμῆς,
 καὶ ὅτι τὸ καθ' ἡμᾶς τοῦτο μέγα πρᾶγμα καὶ σπανιώτατον, τὴν πρὸς
 ἀλλήλας φημι τῶν ἡμετέρων ψυχῶν — ἀλλὰ πῶς ἂν εἰπεῖν τι προσφυῆς
 20 δυνηθείην; — ἐκ φιλίας ἔνωσιν καὶ ἀνάκρασιν ὡς ἀγγίνους τὰ πάντα καὶ
 σοφὸς οὐκ ἠγνόησεν. ὥστε πείθου καὶ δίδου διὰ πάντα τὴν χάριν, ἵν' ἔ-
 χοις καὶ αὐτὸς οὐκ ἔλαττον ἡδεσθαι τῆ τε κατορθώσει τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ καὶ τῆ
 μαρτυρία τῆς συνειδήσεως. τοσοῦτον μὲν τὸ ἡμέτερον, ἐπεὶ παρ' ἡμῶν
 οὐδὲν πλέον ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἐπεζήτησε. τὸ δὲ τῆς σῆς ἀδελφότητος ὁψόμεθα
 25 πάντως οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν, εἰ μὴ προαπέλθοιμεν, καὶ γε τελεώτατον ἴδοιμεν
 V f. 51r καὶ ὅσον ἢ ἐλπὶς ἐγγυᾶται, ἦν ἐν μηδενὶ κατασιχῆναι μηδὲ προδοῦναι
 σου τὴν εὐγένειαν, τῆς παρ' ἡμῶν εὐχῆς τὸ κεφάλαιον.

8: 3 φύσει - καλόν: cf. Aristot. Eth. Nic. II 2 p. 1105a 1 | γνώμη marg V || 9 ὅ - προσσχών: cf. II Petr. 1,19 || 21 ἢ ἐλπὶς - κατασιχῆναι: cf. Rom. 5,5

8: V 50^r-51^r A 218^r-219^r
 6 ὅσον scripsi: ὄσφ VA Lag || 9 προσχών A || 19 ἐπεζήτησεν A

Late and delayed just a little more than expected, but nevertheless the messenger sent to you has returned to the one who sent him. I thank you very much for returning the man whenever you did. Because he has compensated me wonderfully for the loss caused by his delay with the accomplishments of his absence, clear proofs of which he has produced in many ways: showing his hands full of letters with many words and many lines of them; his tongue full of them too, and his mouth telling stories, the best part of which were the enormous applause and the never ending torrent of praise in favour of the ruler and governor of my land.

Indeed, it is good that I have been reminded of his discourse as I started talking. Therefore, leaving aside the other things concerning you, I rejoice with you because of your new office and because of the increase in the territory you govern. From now on you should no longer be called or considered ruler of the Paphlagonians but of the Maryandanoi. Also, I shall venture to say not less of the Paphlagonians as well, because, on the one hand, the name is common to both nations, on the other, we, the pure Paphlagonians have taken the Maryandanoi to ourselves as if they were ours. Advance, therefore, to still greater and more perfect accomplishments, always arranging the present as a stepping stone for future advancement, passing gloriously from our own land to another of ours — they say «from home to home» — you, you man of God and mine, so that my own sluggishness — rather my total immobility — may somehow appear to share in the easy mobility of your distinguished promotion, and that I may on this occasion, participate in your honour and joy. May the Lord of glory generously grant you ever more and more such honour and joy. And in the end may He lead you to His blessed happiness as a faithful and good servant and with such good testimony and proclamation.

θ' Ὅψὲ μὲν καὶ μόλις καὶ τῆς ἐλπίδος βραδύτερον, ἐπανήλθε δ' οὖν ὅμως ὁ πεμφθεὶς σοὶ παρὰ τοὺς πέμψαντας. χάρις τοίνυν πολλὴ καὶ τῆς ὀψιθέου τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐπανόδου· τὰ τῆς ἀπουσίας γὰρ κατορθώματα θαυμαστῶς ἡμῖν ἀνεπλήρωσε τὸ τῆς βραδυτῆτος ὑστέρημα, ὧν τὰς ἀποδεί-
5 ξεις σαφεῖς ἀπὸ πλειόνων παρέστησε, μεστὴν μὲν τὴν χεῖρα δεικνύς πολυσυλλάβων τινῶν καὶ πολυστίχων γραμμάτων, μεστὴν δὲ τὴν γλῶτταν καὶ τὸ στόμα φέρων διηγημάτων, ὧν τὸ κράτιστον μέρος αἱ ὑπερφρεῖς εὐφημῖαι καὶ τῶν ἐγκωμίων τὸ πλῆθος, ἃ πλουσίως ῥέει καὶ ἀεννάως ὑπὲρ τοῦ τῆς ἡμετέρας πατρίδος ἡγεμόνος καὶ ἄρχοντος.

10 Μᾶλλον δὲ καλῶς ὑπεμνήσθην ἅμα λέγων ὑπὸ τοῦ λόγου. καὶ σοὶ τὰλλα παρείς, τῆς τε νέας ἀρχῆς καὶ τῆς μεζονοῦ ταύτης ἐπαρχίας συνή-
V f. 51v δομαί· οὐκέτι γὰρ Παφλαγόνων, ἀλλὰ Μαρυανδηνῶν ἡγεμόνα σε κλητέον καὶ νομιστέον. ἔω γὰρ εἰπεῖν ὅτι Παφλαγόνων καὶ οὕτω κατ' οὐδὲν ἔλαττον, ἅμα μὲν, ὅτι κοινὸν ἀμφοτέροις τὸ τῆς προσηγορίας τοῖς ἔθνε-
15 σιν, ἅμα δ' ὅτι καὶ τούτους οἱ ἀκραιφνεῖς ἡμεῖς Παφλαγόνες ὡς ἐκείνους ἐξοικειούμεθα. πλὴν ἀλλ' οὕτω μοι πρόβαινε πρὸς τὰ μεῖζω καὶ τελεώτε-
ρα, αἰεὶ τὰ παρόντα τῶν μελλόντων ἐπίβασιν ἐν τάξει ποιούμενος, καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἡμετέρων εἰς τὰ ἡμέτερα — οἴκοθεν φασιν οἴκαδε — μεταβαίνων ἐνδόξως ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἡμέτερος, ἵνα καὶ ἡμῶν τὸ δυσκίνητον — ἢ καὶ
20 πάντη ἀκίνητον — τῷ εὐκινήτῳ τῆς σῆς ἐπιφανοῦς προκοπῆς συμπεριφέρεσθαι πῶς δοκοίη, καὶ τῆς ἐπὶ τούτῳ σοὶ δόξης καὶ χαρᾶς κοινωνοίη, ἦν ὁ κύριος τῆς δόξης ἐπὶ πλέον καὶ πλέον ἐνδρασιλεύσαιτό σου τῇ τιμότητι, καὶ τελευτῶν εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ σε μακαρίαν χαρὰν, ἅτε δοῦλον πιστὸν καὶ ἀγαθόν, εἰσαγάγοι μετὰ δεξιᾶς καὶ τοιαύτης μαρτυρίας καὶ ἀναρρη-
25 σεως.

9: 18 Pind. Olymp. 6,99; 7,4 || 23-24 μακαρίαν - ἀγαθόν: cf. Matth. 25,21

9: V 51^v A 219^v-220^v

10 καλῶς: κακῶς Lag || 20 πάντη scripsi: πάντη VA Lag

10

Each has his own trait of family and rank but the best-known trait of the present noble and wise *parathalassites* is gentleness. For this reason, therefore, in dealing with us, I ask you to become known for your gentleness and not, on the contrary, for roughness, because gentleness, as you know, is numbered among the first of the qualities of the blessed. There is great hope for you also to be deemed worthy of them, for we know that you wish to be admired more for your goodness than your authority and in thinking this way you are wiser than most. Indeed, persuasion is loved more than violence and virtue is respected much more than authority.

11

Yes, «man of God», we know that the laws for what you call smuggling and for violations relating to it are set up as unmerciful and severe punishment. But again a provision of these laws is this, that they, sometimes, take into consideration the ignorance of the offenders and for the most part pardon such mistaken conduct. They also examine the differences and the characters of the people, who is capable of treachery and villainy and who is most unlikely to be guilty of such a charge. Lastly, in each case they show benevolence and always incline the just and unswerving scale of justice in favour of the imperilled. For this reason we beg you even more that this case be submitted now to the laws of exact judgment, lest ever these men be proven to have been brought up to court in vain and abused rather than prosecuted in a just manner. But even in the event that they are guilty, they should be treated more with benevolence than

10

ι' Ἄλλου μὲν ἄλλο γνῶρισμα καὶ γένους καὶ ἀξιώματος, τοῦ δὲ νῦν
V. f. 52r εὐγενοῦς τε καὶ σοφοῦ παραθαλασσίτου πραότης τὸ γνωριμώτατον. ἀπὸ
ταύτης οὖν ἀξιοῦμέν σε καὶ τοῖς καθ' ἡμᾶς γνωρίζεσθαι πράγμασιν, ἀλλὰ
μὴ τοῦναντίον ἀπὸ τραχύτητος, ἐπειδὴ καὶ τὸ πρᾶον ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις, ὡς
5 οἶσθα, τῶν μακαριζομένων ἠρίθμηται, ὧν πολλή τις ἐλπίς ἀξιοθῆναι καὶ
σέ, ὅτι σε βουλόμενον ἴσμεν ἐκ καλοκάγαθίας τὸ πλεον ἢ δυναστείας
θαυμάζεσθαι καὶ τοῦτο τάχα σοφώτερον ἢ κατὰ τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐννοοῦντα.
ἀγαπᾶται γὰρ μᾶλλον τὸ πείθον ὑπὲρ τὸ βιαζόμενον καὶ ἀρετὴ πολλῶ
πλεον ἐξουσίας αἰδεσιμώτερον.

11

ια' Ναί, θεοῦ ἄνθρωπε, ἴσμεν ὅπως οἱ νόμοι τοῖς καθ' ὑμᾶς κλεπτοτελω-
νήμασι καὶ ταῖς περὶ αὐτὰ κακουργίαις ἀπαραίτητοι κἀθῆνται καὶ βαρεῖς
κολασταί, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνων αὐθις καὶ τοῦτο, τὸ ταῖς ἀγροικίαις ἐνίοτε τῶν
πλημμελούντων συντρέχειν, καὶ ταῖς τοιαύταις ἀγνοίαις συγγινώσκειν
5 ὡς τὰ πολλά, διαφορὰς τε προσώπων ἐπισκοπεῖν καὶ ποιότητος, καὶ τίς
V f. 52v μὲν ἐστὶ δόλου καὶ πανουργίας δεκτικὸς, τίς δὲ τοιαύτην αἰτίαν ἀπίθα-
νος ἀναδέξασθαι, ἐπὶ πᾶσι δὲ τὸ φιλάγαθον καὶ τὸ ἐπικλίνειν ἀεὶ τὴν
ὀρθὴν καὶ ἀπαρέγκλιτον πλάστιγγα τῆς δίκης τῷ κινδυνεύοντι. διὰ ταῦτα
δεόμεθα μάλιστα μὲν τῇ τῆς ἀκριβεστερας κρίσεως στάθμη καὶ νῦν ὑπο-
10 βληθῆναι τὸ πρᾶγμα, μήποτε ματαίως ἀποδειχθεῖεν οἱ ἄνθρωποι καὶ πρὸς
ἐπήρειαν μᾶλλον ἢ κατὰ τινα τρόπον ἐγκαλούμενοι δίκαιον. εἰ δ' οὖν,
ἀλλὰ κἂν ἄλῳεν, φιλανθρωπότερον μᾶλλον ἢ δικαιότερον δι' οὕπερ

10: 1 Ἄλλου - ἀξιώματος: cf. Greg. Naz. Ep. 52, 10-11 (I 69 Gallay); Orat. XLIII, 4 (PG 36,500B) || 4-5 τὸ πρᾶον - ἠρίθμηται: cf. Matth. 5,5 || 8 ἀγαπᾶται - βιαζόμενον: cf. Lys. I 32

10: V 51^v-52^r A 220^{r-v}
4 πρῶτοις A || 8 γνῶμη marg VA

11: 1 I Tim. 6,11 || 1-2 τοῖς-κλεπτοτελωνήμασι: cf. Tzetz. Hist. XIII 527

11: V 52^r-53^r A 220^v-221^r
1-2 κλεπτοτελωνήμασιν A || 2 κακακουργίαις A || 7 τῷ ἐπικλίνην A || 12 κἂν Lag: κἂν VA | ἄλῳεν: ἄλῳ A

according to the law, for the reasons we mentioned, because, as you see, they behave innocently and without malice. For such is this people, the simple Paphlagonians, who as you hear, do not know their left from their right hand. So much we abstain completely from craftiness and deceit, because along with my compatriots, my case is also at stake.

In a word, therefore, if they appear to be completely free of guilt, deliver them, oh righteous guardian of the laws, to the law and to justice. But if not, to God the merciful, because you are yourself merciful and you are urged to imitate God's clemency, inasmuch as it is fatherly; I hesitate to say that you should deliver them to me, because of your brotherly love. At any rate, if you accept the third of my pleas let then these wretched people be completely excused of the whole accusation or of the greater part, so that your nobility may also be wholly forgiven without being subject to strictness and such severe and harsh exactitude.

12

The servant of my constant messages has something trifling to say to you, my brother. By giving ear to him and providing him with what he asks, you shall gratify me, your own friend, considerably and before us, God, who has granted to you now as you deserve, the power to perform great deeds and may He enable you in the future to perform still greater.

13

God also shows kindness most of the time right away — because who else would, if not he? — but sometimes after he has taken away the soul. But you, having put my soul to the test for quite some time — in the belief that you are imitating God by what you are doing — and having almost taken it away by postponing your kindness, grant me now, my long-suffering lord, grant me this favour at last, before I depart forever, because restoring the soul to the dead is only in the power of God alone, certainly not in yours.

ἔφαμεν λόγους οἰκονομηθῆναι τὰ κατ' αὐτούς, οὕτως ὡς ὄρας ἔχοντας ἀκάκως καὶ ἀπονήρως. τὸ γὰρ γένος τοιοῦτον, οἱ ἀπλοῖκοι Παφλαγόνες, 15 οἱ οὐκ ἔγνωσαν, καθάπερ ἀκούεις, δεξιὰν ἢ ἀριστεράν· τοσοῦτον ἀπέχομεν πανουργίας καὶ δόλου, ἐπειδὴ τοῖς ὁμοθεσίσι συγκινδυνεύει καὶ τὸ ἡμέτερον.

Ἴν' οὖν συνέλω τὸ πᾶν, εἰ μὲν φανεῖεν παντάπασιν αἰτίας ἐλεύθεροι, ἄφες, ᾧ δίκαιε προστάτα τῶν νόμων, τῷ τε νόμῳ καὶ τοῖς δικαίοις. εἰ δὲ 20 μὴ, θεῷ τῷ οἰκτίρμονι, ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς ὦν οἰκτίρμων καὶ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ V f. 53r μιμεῖσθαι φιλανθρωπίαν! ὡς πατρικὴν κελευόμενος· ὁκνῶ γὰρ εἰπεῖν ὅτι καὶ ἡμῖν ὡς φιλάδελφος. διὰ πάντα δ' οὖν ὁμῶς, εἰ συγχωρεῖς καὶ τὸ τρίτον, ἀφεθῆτω πάντως τὸ πᾶν, ἢ τὸ πλεον γ' οὖν, τοῖς ἀθλοῖς, ἵνα καὶ τῇ σῇ εὐγενείᾳ καθαρῶς ἀφθεῖθῃ χωρὶς ἀκριβολογίας καὶ τοιαύτης σφο- 25 δρᾶς καὶ ἀσθηρᾶς ἐξετάσεως.

12

ιβ' Ἐχει φάναι βραχὺ τι πρὸς τὴν σὴν ἀδελφότητα ὁ τῆς ἡμετέρας χρονίου προσλαλιάς ὑπηρέτης. τούτῳ τοίνυν οὗς ὑποσχῶν καὶ παρασχῶν ὁ ζητεῖ, ἡμῖν τε τοῖς σοῖς ἐπιεικῶς χαριῆ καὶ πρὸ ἡμῶν τῷ θεῷ, ὃς ἀξίως παρέσχε σοι νῦν τε δύνασθαι μέγα καὶ τὸ μείζω δυνησεσθαι πρὸς τὸ 5 μέλλον παράσχοι.

13

ιγ' Εὐεργετεῖ καὶ θεός — καὶ τίς γὰρ ἄν, εἰ μὴ οὗτος; — ἀλλὰ τὰ πολλὰ μὲν ταχύνων, ἐνίστε δὲ τὴν ψυχὴν αἴρων πρότερον. σὺ δ' ἐφ' ἱκανὸν βασανίσας τὴν ἡμετέραν, ὁ θεὸν πιστευόμενος ζηλοῦν οἷς ποιεῖς, καὶ σχεδὸν αὐτὴν ἄρας ταῖς ἀναβολαῖς τῆς χρηστότητος, δὸς ἡμῖν ἤδη, κύριέ 5 μου μακρόθυμε, δὸς τὴν χάριν ποτέ, πρὶν εἰς τέλος ἐκλίπωμεν, ἐπεὶ τὸ ψυχῶσαι πάλιν θανόντας θεοῦ μόνου πάντως, οὐχὶ καὶ σόν.

15 οὐκ - ἀριστεράν: cf. Matth. 6,3; Ioann. 4,11

12: V 53' A 221'

13: V 53' A 221'-222'

l καί: μὲν A

14

I have asked you, my lord, for one favour. This I shall certainly pursue, and I shall not give up bothering you until I have, with God's help, attained some success. Your eminence has one of two choices: either to grant the request quickly, leaving aside the excuses, and be rid this annoyance all the sooner, or be magnanimous and noble in dealing with this unpleasant request. In addition to these, or even on behalf of these, may God grant you all your prayers, yet not so slowly lest your faith fail you because of the faint-heartedness which comes from human weakness.

15

Perhaps I am a burden but I am also of some little help — if I may boast a little. What help do I offer? I give you the opportunity, a different one every time, to serve God, trusting in your loving goodness. For the moment, the opportunity that I give is that I introduce to you this person, this one and this one. Having satisfied their needs accordingly, may God grant you your request in turn.

16

I am sending you this letter as a pledge of friendship from afar and I make good the agreement, and I put to test your good will. For your part rejoice and reply in like manner and, please, be sure to grant me a glimpse of you sometime.

14

V f. 53v ιδ' | Μίαν ἡτησάμην παρὰ σοῦ τοῦ κυρίου μου· ταύτην πάντως ζητήσω καὶ οὐ πρὶν ἀνήσω παρενοχλῶν, ἄχρις ἂν καὶ ἀνύσω τι, θεοῦ συνεφαπτομένου. ἢ δὲ σὴ περιφάνεια τῶν δύο θάτερον τούτων ἢ σπευσάτω τὴν δόσιν, τὰς προφάσεις ἀπωσαμένη, καὶ τῆς ἐπαχθείας θάττον ἀπαλλαγῆ-
5 τω, ἢ πρὸς τὴν αὐτῆς ἀηδῖαν εὐγενῶς μεγαλοψυχεῖται· πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἢ καὶ πρὸ τούτων δοθεῖη καὶ ταύτη παρὰ θεοῦ τὰ αἰτήματα. πλὴν μὴ οὕτω βραδέως, ἵνα μὴ ἡ πίστις ἐκλίπη διὰ τὸ τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης ἀσθενείας ὀλιγωρον.

15

ιε' | Βαρύνω μὲν ἴσως, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὠφελῶ τι βραχύ, ἵνα καὶ βραχύ τι καυχῆσμαι. τίς δὲ ἡ ὠφέλεια; ἀφορμὰς σοὶ παρέχω τῆς πρὸς τὸν θεὸν θεραπείας, ἄλλας μὲν ἄλλοτε, θαρρῶν σου τῷ φιλαγάθῳ· τὰ δὲ νῦν, ταύτας δὴ, τόνδε προσάγω σοὶ καὶ τόνδε καὶ τόνδε. οἷς πᾶσιν ἀναλόγως ἐκπληρώσας
5 τὰ πρὸς τὴν χρείαν, καὶ αὐτὸς ἀντιτύχοις παρὰ θεοῦ τῶν αἰτήσεων.

16

V f. 54r ις' | Δεξιάν σοι φιλίας τὴν γραφὴν ἐμβάλλω | μακρόθεν, καὶ βεβαιῶ τὰς συνθήκας, καὶ συνάγω τὴν εὐνοίαν. σὺ δέ μοι καὶ χαῖρε καὶ τοῖς ἴσοις ἀμείβου, καὶ σαυτὸν ἀξίου χαρίζεσθαι τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς ἡμῶν εἰς καιρόν.

14: 1 Μίαν - σοῦ: cf. III Reg. 2,20

14: V 53^v A 222^r
5-6 ἢ καὶ: καὶ ἢ A

15: 2-3 ἀφορμὰς - θεραπείας: cf. Proc. Gaz. Ep. 12, 1-3 (10 Garzya-Loenertz)

15: V 53^v A 222^r F p. 13
2 τὸν ante θεὸν om. F || 2-3 θεραπείας: παρησίας F || 3 ἄλλας - ταύτας δὴ om. F || 4 προσάγω: παράγω F | post καὶ τόνδε² add. τοὺς δεομένους ὡς γὰρ αὐτῶν εἰσακούσεις καὶ σοῦ πάντως Θεός F

16: 1 Δεξιάν-ἐμβάλλω: cf. supra Ep. 7,9

16: V 53^v-54^r A 222^r

[To Gregorios]

It seems that he who lives next to a blacksmith must lie awake at night, as the proverb says. But for him who converses with a learned and inquiring man it is quite impossible to become sleepy and sluggish, for his ears are buzzed with constant problems and inquiries as if by horse-flies, and his mind is kept awake as if pricked by a sting. This I know myself from experience with your problems. For you are somewhat loquacious and excessive in your inquiries (I must speak the truth to you the lover of truth) and you oblige me constantly to give an explanation of these, not only when you are by my side, but even from afar you do not cease to stir up my mind, demanding answers and solutions to your problems, so that I do not quite find the time for rest and sleep.

You will now hear my opinion on the questions I have in my hands. For why should I postpone my answer to one who shall certainly persist until he has received it? I too shall begin my discourse with this very point, τὸν μὲν πρῶτον λόγον ἐποιησάμην, and I shall then pay you my other debts in full. But allow me to plead my case by invoking a myth. Once someone asked the elephant to show him his knees and he without hesitation pointed to a camel and said «on her back legs». «Because», he said, «what I lack she has claimed to her own advantage, ever since using two instead of one in her back legs». But it occurs to me that with regard to your question (in the passage τὸν μὲν πρῶτον λόγον ἐποιησάμην) I may become witty by pointing out something similar, that the particle μὲν has its correlative in the clause τί δὲ οἱ Μακκαβαῖοι, in which the particle δὲ that is missing in the above mentioned-passage, here appears to be superfluous. Thus the particle δὲ must be connected with the particle μὲν so that by restoring these relatives to each other we may accomplish their union, without leaving each of them manqué on its own or deserted and bereft of its partner.

But this explanation is more for your amusement, the serious examination of this matter is as follows: there is a figure of speech which is successfully

<Τῷ Γρηγορίῳ>

15 ἰς Ἦν μὲν ὡς ἔοικεν ἀγρυπνεῖν ἀναγκαῖον τὸν συνοικοῦντα χαλκεῖ κατὰ τὸν δημόσιον λόγον, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἀνδρὶ φιλολόγῳ καὶ ζητητικῷ προσδιαλεγόμενον οὐκ ἔνεστιν ἴσως οὐδὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπονυστάζει καὶ ῥαθυμῆσαι, τοῖς πυκνοῖς προβλήμασι καὶ ζητήμασιν οἴονεῖ τισὶ μύωψι τὰ ὦτα περιβομβούμενον, καὶ πρὸς ἕκαστον τούτων ὥσανεὶ πρὸς νύγματα κέντρων τὴν διάνοιαν ἐγειρόμενον. ὅπερ πάσχοντες ἴσμεν καὶ αὐτοὶ πρὸς τὰ σά· λάλον γάρ τι τὰς πεύσεις καὶ περιττὸν χρῆμα σύ, ἐπειδὴ λέγειν χρῆ πρὸς τὸν φιλαλήθη σε τάληθῆ, ὃς οὐ μόνον παρῶν συνεχῶς με 10 τούτων τοὺς λόγους ἀναγκάζεις ὑπέχειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ μακρόθεν οὐ παύη τὰς ἐν ἡμῖν ἐννοίας κινῶν καὶ πρὸς ἀποκρίσεις καὶ λύσεις τῶν προτάσεων V f. 54v ἐκκαλούμενος, ὡς μὴ πάνυ τάχα σχολάζοιμεν ἡρεμεῖν καὶ καθεύδειν.

Ἄκουοις οὖν ἤδη καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐν χερσίν ἃ φρονοῦμεν· τί γὰρ ἂν καὶ ἀναβαλλοίμεθα πρὸς τὸν οὐκ ἀνήσοντα πάντως, ἄχρις ὅτου καὶ λάβοι; 15 τὸν μὲν οὖν πρῶτον λόγον ποιήσομαι καὶ αὐτὸς περὶ αὐτοῦ τούτου δὴ τοῦ τὸν μὲν πρῶτον λόγον ἐποιησάμην, εἶτα δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων σοὶ τὰς εὐθύνας ἐκτίσω. ἀλλ' ἀνάσχου καὶ μῦθον ἐπὶ τὴν συνηγορίαν με προσλαμβάνοντα. ἤρετό τις ποτὲ τὸν ἐλέφαντα ποῦ τὰ γόνατα ἔχει· ὁ δὲ μελλήσας οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ τὴν κάμηλον δείξας «ἐν τοῖς ὀπισθίοις», εἶπεν, «ἐκείνης» 20 «τὸ γὰρ ἔλλειπον ἐμοί», φησὶν, «ἐπλεονέκτησεν αὐτῆ, δυσὶν ἀνθ' ἐνὸς ἐν τοῖς κατόπιν χρωμένῃ». κάμοι τι παραπλήσιον ἐπεισὶν ἐπὶ τῷ ζητήματι τούτῳ χαριεντίσασθαι, ὅτι ὁ σύνδεσμος οὗτος — ἤγουν ὁ «μὲν» — ἐκεῖ τὴν ἀνταπόδοσιν ἔχει, ἐν τῷ τί δὲ οἱ Μακκαβαῖοι, ἔνθα καὶ δοκεῖ περιττεύειν ὁ σύνδεσμος ὁ λείπων ἐνταῦθα. δεῖ τοιγαροῦν ἐκεῖνον τὸν «δὲ» παρὰ V f. 55r τὸν «μὲν» τοῦτον ἄγειν, ἵν' ἀλλήλοις ἀλλήλους ἀποδόντες | τοὺς συγγενεῖς, τὴν συζυγίαν οὕτω συναπαρτίσωμεν, καὶ μὴ χωρὶς ἑκάτερον χωλεύειν ἐάσωμεν, μηδὲ παρίδωμεν ἔρημον τοῦ συζύγου καὶ προσδεᾶ.

Ἄλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ὥστε καὶ παιδιᾷ τι χαρίσασθαι, τὰ τῆς σπουδῆς δὲ τοιαῦτα. ἔστι τι τοιοῦτον ἐν σχήμασι, παρὰ ποιηταῖς τὰ πολλὰ καὶ λογο-

17: 1-2 Ἦν - λόγον: cf. BZ 47(1954), 296 || 16 Acta 1,4 || 18-21 ἤρετό τις - χρωμένῃ: fontem non inveni || 23 τί - Μακκαβαῖοι: Greg. Naz. Orat. XV, 1 (PG 35,912)

17: V 54^v-59^r A 222^v-229^r
I de titulo vide Epist. 18, 7, 100-101, 118 || I ἀγρυπεῖν V || 9 με: μετὰ A || 17-18 καὶ μῦθον - προσλαμβάνοντα om. A | μῦθος marg VA

cultivated mostly among poets and prose writers in which these two particles are separated, each being employed separately. They call this usage *anapodoton* and *ameriston*, both of which I think indicate one and the same thing. Yet, the particles are related very closely. When they stand in adjacent clauses, they seem to be geometrically opposed to each other, dividing and distributing the sentence among themselves and then again, as if they have to give back a debt, they render it back. But when they are separated from each other, as in our examples, they cannot maintain this relationship in actuality any longer, although somehow they preserve it potentially, but each remains by itself, single and free. For this reason they are called *ameristoi* and *anapodotoi*, because neither of the two keeps its companion with which it should be both separated and united. Accordingly, they appear incomplete and imperfect, the particle μὲν lacking a place of repose (*ἀνάπαυσις*), the particle δὲ a reference (*ἀναφορά*), the former being considered without feet and the latter without head. Nevertheless, even separated they accomplish something more than this. The particle δὲ introduces notions of other things as already mentioned and refers the listener's mind to them.

For instance, our example τί δὲ οἱ Μακκαβαῖοι implies the composition of some other theological encomia that have already been written and compiled by the great Gregory. So that the meaning that the particle δὲ conveys is as follows if someone would like to interpret this passage: «The deeds of Saint Cyprian and Athanasius, for instance, have received their proper praise from me in full. But what about the Maccabees? Are they not worthy of similar treatment?» Everyone would say so. Thus, the particle μὲν is already presupposed in the mind before the particle δὲ, even though this is not signified in words. The particle μὲν indicated the readiness of mind and shows the speaker improvising on the spur of the moment. At any rate, as he begins thenceforth to execute some well-rounded sentence or some other rhetorical figure, before he accomplished it, he had already been carried off by the flow of his discourse to another figure of speech. The mind of that noble orator had been filled with so many rhetorical devices, and his intellect flooded with so many ideas, that his memory of that part of speech he was engaged in was swept away by the sudden impact of an onrushing second part of speech as if it were a second wave. You see how much power there is in these particles in hand, even though they are limited to one syllable. Yet this is rather insignificant compared to the rest of the wisdom and theory of grammar, which you, so disdainfully dare to reject completely. So

30 γράφοις εὐδοκιμοῦν, ὃ τοὺς συνδέσμους τούτους χωρίζει, καὶ ἑκατέρω
 χράται καθ' ἑαυτὸν· καλοῦσι δὲ τοῦτο ἀναπόδοτον καὶ ἀμέριστον, ἅπερ
 οἶμαι καὶ ἄμφω τὸ αὐτὸ παριστᾶν. ἐπεὶ γὰρ πολὺ τοῖς συνδέσμοις πρὸς
 ἀλλήλους τὸ συγγενές, ὅτε μὲν συμπαράκεινται, δοκοῦσι καθάπερ ἐκ
 διαγράμματος ἀλλήλοις ἀντιδιαίρεισθαι καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους μερίζεσθαι
 35 καὶ συμερίζειν τὸν λόγον, εἶτα πάλιν ἀλλήλοις ὡς ἐκ χρέους ἀνταποδί-
 δοσθαι· ὅταν δὲ καθάπερ ἐνταῦθα χωρισθῶσιν ἀλλήλων, οὐχ οἷοί τε εἰσιν
 ἔτι σφάζειν ἐνεργεῖα ταύτην τὴν σχέσιν, εἰ καὶ σφάζουσί πως δυνάμει, ἀλλὰ
 V f. 55v καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἑκάτερος μένει, μοναδικὸς καὶ ἀσύζευκτος· ὅθεν ἀμέριστοι
 καλοῦνται καὶ ἀναπόδοτοι, ὡς μηδέτερος ἔχων τὸν ἑαυτοῦ κοινωνόν,
 40 πρὸς ὃν καὶ μερίζεσθαι καὶ συναγέσθαι πέφυκε· καθ' ὃ καὶ δοκοῦσιν
 ἔλλιπεῖς τε καὶ ἀτελεῖς, ὃ μὲν ἀναπαύσεως, ὃ δ' ἀναφορᾶς ἀμοιρῶν, καὶ ὃ
 μὲν οἶον ἄπους, ὃ δὲ οἶον ἀκέφαλος θεωρούμενος. καὶ διεζευγμένοι γε
 μέντοι κατορθοῦσι τι πλεον, ὃ μὲν «δὲ» συνεισάγων ὑπόνοιαν ἐτέρων
 πραγμάτων ὡς ἤδη προλελεγμένων, ἐφ' ἃ παρεπέμπει τὴν διάνοιαν τοῦ
 45 ἀκούσαντος.

Ἀμέλει τὸ προκείμενον τοῦτο τί δὲ οἱ Μακκαβαῖοι συγγραφὴν ἐτέρων
 ἠνίξαστο θεολογικῶν ἐγκωμίων, διαπονηθέντων ἤδη τῷ μεγάλῳ καὶ συν-
 ταχθέντων, ὡς εἶναι τοιοῦτον τῷ συνδέσμῳ τὸν νοῦν, εἴ τις ἀναπτύξει
 θελήσοι· «τὰ μὲν δὴ κατὰ τὸν θεῖον Κυπριανόν, φέρε εἰπεῖν, ἢ τὸν μέγαν
 50 Ἀθανάσιον τὴν προσήκουσαν ἀπέχει παρ' ἡμῶν εὐφημίαν· τί δὲ οἱ Μακ-
 καβαῖοι; οὐκ ἄξιοι καὶ οὗτοι τῶν ὁμοίων τυχεῖν;». πᾶς τις ἂν εἴποι. ὥστε
 V f. 56r διανοίᾳ προεἰληπται τοῦ «δὲ» καὶ ὃ «μὲν», κἄν μὴ καὶ τοῖς ῥήμασι συνεκί-
 φαίνηται· ὃ «μὲν» δὲ τὸ ἔτοιμον τῆς γνώμης παρίστησι, καὶ δηλοῖ σχεδιά-
 ζειν ἐξ ὑπογούου τὸν λέγοντα. ἀρξάμενος γοῦν τινα περίοδον δῆθεν ἢ καὶ
 55 ἄλλο τι σχῆμα τῶν τεχνικῶν ἐκτορνεῦσαι, πρὶν ἐκεῖνο περᾶναι, ἀπηνέ-
 χθη πρὸς ἕτερον τῆ ῥύμη τοῦ λόγου· τοσοῦτων ἐμπέπλησται τὸ στήθος
 ἐνθυμημάτων ὃ γεννάδας ῥήτωρ ἐκεῖνος, καὶ οὕτω τὰ ἔνδον πλημμυρεῖ
 τοῖς νοήμασιν, ὅς γε τὴν μνήμην τοῦ ἐν χερσὶ θεωρήματος τῷ τάχει τῆς
 ἐπιφορᾶς τοῦ δευτέρου ὥσπερ κύματος ἐπεκλύσθη. ὕρᾶς ὅση δύναμις
 60 ἔνεστι τοῖς ἀνὰ χεῖρα συνδέσμοις, κἄν μονοσυλλαβία στενοχωροῖντο.
 ἀλλ' οὐδὲν ἔτι ταῦτα πρὸς τὴν ἄλλην τῆς τέχνης σοφίαν καὶ θεωρίαν, ἣν
 ὃ ὑπερόπτης σὺ πάντων ἀποπροσποιεῖσθαι τολμᾷς. ἡμῖν δ' οὖν τοσαῦτα

49 τὰ μὲν - Κυπριανόν: cf. Greg. Naz. Orat. XXIV (40-85 Mossay-Lafontaine); PG 35, 1169-1193 |
 49-50 ἢ - Ἀθανάσιον: cf. Greg. Naz. Orat. XXI (110-193 Mossay-Lafontaine); PG 35, 1081-1128

much then concerning your first question. The particle δέ, which has caused so many problems for the interpreters and which you called and considered *anacoluthon*, it seems to me, does not require any treatise, since the explanation is obvious in itself.

I will also explain how the clause Ἡ βούλεσθε καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ σήμερον ἐστιάτωρ ὑμῖν being incorrectly divided, does not render a reasonably clear meaning, thereby leading investigators into great errors, inasmuch as they were once led astray by their inexperience. Because, as the Scripture says, «although you present your offering correctly, you do not divide it correctly», to suitably borrow an unsuitable passage. Different people say different things and all of them, as you know, say quite a lot. For my part, this is my opinion. I do not consider the above-mentioned η an adverb, nor do I write it with a circumflex and a rough breathing mark (ῆ) as most of the others do, but I say outright that it is a disjunctive particle (ἦ) and read the sentence as *hyperbaton*, as follows: ἦ βούλεσθε ἐγὼ τὸν περὶ τούτων παραθῶ λόγον ὑμῖν; The phrase καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ σήμερον I reckon to be parenthetical for the sake of correct style, according to the rhetorical rules and laws. Because when the Father deemed those who were present worthy of being entertained with divine words and discourses, and perceived that they were at a loss as to whence they could procure such a luxury, he did not suffer to ask μή τι οὖν ὑμεῖς ἔχετε τοιοῦτον παρ' ἑαυτοῖς; (can you perhaps afford such a luxury alone?), but rather in a serious and courageous manner he took a risk with this question ἦ τοῦτο μὲν ἀπαρνεῖσθε (or do you reject this), that is to say silently implying βούλεσθε δὲ τὴν παρ' ἡμῶν μᾶλλον τράπεζαν; (and would you prefer my table instead?). Such was his boldness and venturesome spirit. Providing a good reason for his intention, he says καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ σήμερον ἐστιάτωρ (today I am your host), that is your teacher. Then in the interval he boasted a little or rather he presented his case more persuasively. He, the all wise one, revealed his superiority in all things by appearing moderate, for these were his wisest accomplishments. When he saw that all of them were astonished and accepting his words in silence, no matter what he said, he quickly seizes their silence as an indication of consent and upon this consent he bases his discourse, having laid a secure foundation, entertaining the mind in a marvellous way by announcing his intention and saying «I shall begin then from here». To render the η as an interrogative particle and write it with a circumflex (ῆ), accepting it in place of ἄρα, provides some excuse, but disrupts the structure and harmony of the composition, causing the parts of the sentence to appear wide open and disconnected, and prompting one to think that they need to be fixed by an application of glue, since the preceding and succeeding parts fit together so poorly. Let alone that

πρὸς τὸ πρῶτον ἐρώτημα. τὸ «ὀέ», πλείστα μὲν πράγματα τοῖς ἐξηγηταῖς παρασχόν, σοὶ δὲ καὶ κληθὲν καὶ νομισθὲν ἀνακόλουθον, ἐμοὶ πραγμα-
 65 τείας οὐδεμιᾶς δοκεῖ δεῖσθαι, ἀλλ' αὐτόθεν ἔχειν τὴν δήλωσιν.
 V f. 56v Ἐρῶ δὲ καὶ πῶς ἦ βούλεσθε (καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ σήμερον ἑστιάτωρ ὑμῖν).
 τοῦτο μὴ καλῶς διαιρούμενον, οὐ καλὴν ἀποδίδωσιν εἰκότως τὴν θεω-
 ρίαν, εἰς πολὺν τινα πλάνον τοὺς ἰχνηλατοῦντας ἐμβάλλον, ἐπειδὴ περ
 ἀπαξ ὑπ' ἀπειρίας ἀπεσφάλησαν τῆς εὐθείας· οὐκ ἂν γάρ, εἶπεν ὁ λόγος,
 70 ὀρθῶς μὲν προσενέγκης, ὀρθῶς δὲ μὴ διέλης, ἵνα προσηκόντως δανείσωμαι
 ῥητὸν οὐ προσῆκον. ἄλλοι μὲν οὖν ἄλλα φασί, καὶ οὐκ ὀλίγα πάντες, ὡς
 οἴσθα· τὸ παρ' ἡμῶν δὲ τοιοῦτον. οὐτ' ἐν ἐπιρρήμασι τάττομεν τὸ προ-
 κείμενον «η», οὔτε περισπῶμεν δασύνοντες, κατὰ τοὺς πλείους ἐκείνων,
 ἀλλ' ἀντικρυς λέγομεν διαζευκτικὸν εἶναι σύνδεσμον, ἀναγινώσκουμεν δὲ
 75 καθ' ὑπερβατὸν οὕτως· Ἡ βούλεσθε ἐγὼ τὸν περὶ τούτων παραθῶ λόγον
 ὑμῖν; τὸ δὲ καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ σήμερον ἐπεμβολὴν λογιζόμεθα κατασκευῆς ἐξ
 αἰτίας, τοῖς τεχνικοῖς ἐπομένην ὄροις καὶ νόμοις. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἤξιώσεν ὁ
 πατήρ τοὺς παρόντας ἐν θείοις τρυφήσαι λόγοις καὶ διηγῆμασιν, ὥσπερ
 ἀποροῦντας αἰσθόμενος, πόθεν ἂν εὐπορήσαιεν τοιαύτης τρυφῆς, ἐρωτή-
 80 σαι μὲν οὐκ ἀνέλχεται «μή τι οὖν ὑμεῖς ἔχετε τοιοῦτον παρ' ἑαυτοῖς;»,
 ἐπιστροφῶς δὲ μάλα καὶ ἀνδρικῶς ἀποκινδυνεύει πρὸς τὸ ἐξῆς «ἦ τοῦτο
 μὲν ἀπαρνεῖσθε», — δῆλον ὅτι κατὰ τὸ σιωπώμενον — «βούλεσθε δὲ τὴν
 παρ' ἡμῶν μᾶλλον τράπεζαν;». τοῦτο ἢ τόλμα καὶ τὸ κινδύνευμα· τὸ δὲ
 τοῦ βουλήματος εὐλογον καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ, φησί, σήμερον ἐστιάτωρ, ἦγουν
 85 διδάσκαλος. εἶτα μεταξύ τι παρακομπάσας, μᾶλλον δὲ πεποιθότως τὸ
 ἑαυτοῦ παραστήσας, καὶ τὴν κατὰ πάντων ὁ πάνσοφος ἀνακαλύψας ὑπε-
 ροχὴν ἐν τῷ δοκεῖν μετριάζειν, ταῦτα γὰρ αὐτοῦ τὰ σοφώτατα, ἐπεὶ τε-
 θαμβημένους ἅπαντας εἶδε καὶ σιγῆ τὸν ἐκείνου λόγον προσδεχομένους,
 ὅτι δῆποτε φθέγγαιτο, ἀρπάζει ταχὺ τὴν σιωπὴν ὡς κατάθεσιν, καὶ τὸν τε
 90 λόγον ἐδράζει, τὴν βάσιν ὑποθεῖς ἀσφαλῆ, καὶ ἀναπαύει θαυμαστῶς τὴν
 διάνοιαν τῆ ἐπαγγελία τῆς ἐγχειρήσεως, ἄρξομαι δὴ, λέγων, ἐντεῦθεν. τὸ
 δὲ κατὰ πῦσιν ἐκφέρειν τὸ «η» καὶ περισπᾶν, ὡς ἀντὶ τοῦ ἄρα παρελημ-
 μένον, ἀπολογίας μὲν τινος ἔχεται, διασπᾶ δὲ τοῦ λόγου τὸ συγκεκρο-
 V f. 57v τημένον καὶ συμφυές, καὶ δείκνυσί πως τὰ μέρη κεχρηνότα καὶ ἀσυνάρτη-
 95 τα, ὡς νομίζεσθαι τινος ἐξωθεν ἐχεκόλλου δεῖσθαι φαρμάκου, οὕτως
 ἀνοικείως ἐχούσης τῆς ἐπαγωγῆς πρὸς τὰ προηγούμενα. ἐὼ γὰρ εἰπεῖν

66 Greg. Naz. Orat. XXXVIII, 6 (PG 36, 317A) || 69-70 Gen. 4,7 || 91 Greg. Naz. Orat. XXXVIII, 6 (PG 36, 317A)

64 δ ante ἐμοὶ suppl. Lag || 69 εὐθείας Lag: εὐθίας V -είας A || 80 ὑμεῖς om. A

through such a triviality the lofty style becomes, without being noticed, pedestrian and seems to be not at all free from being forced. Even more the same holds true also with those who write this particle with a circumflex and a rough breathing mark (ῆ), as if to signify καθ' ἃ, and place a full stop after the word βούλεσθε, thus requiring us to accept that with καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ σήμερον a new sentence begins, except that they render the whole passage more obscure and incomprehensible. You have then, to the best of my ability, my answer, as you wished, about ἡ βούλεσθε.

With regard to Solon's greediness, be assured, father, that it has been falsely attributed to him and to that person who has been unjustly assumed to have attributed it to Solon. For the practice of greediness is altogether alien to Solon as likewise alien is this utterance to the speaker <Saint Gregory>, rather to him who did not say it, but who has only falsely been accused of saying it. Because who would know better than he does about Solon's generosity with money? Who would know more than he about the story and the wonder of Solon and Croesus, which has become known and sung everywhere even by the common folk? He knew this story, of course, better than any other, for he had encompassed all divine and human knowledge, surpassing every other learned man in erudition and exactness. But he did not upbraid Solon here nor, indeed, was he about to do so. Because he understood that it would be the same thing to mock Solon for greediness and Hercules for cowardice. But whom does he ridicule by exposing his vice of greediness? The one who in truth greedily abused the Lydian gold, the man who is justly denounced both by the secular historians and by Gregory himself elsewhere when, in his poems, he writes as follows:

Who shall ever praise this deed of Alcmeon
who was the first among the celebrated Athenians
and yet he showed himself as weak for money
as he ought to have proved himself superior to it
for Croesus honoured him with large sums

and so continues the story. You will find these iambic verses in his writings about virtue. It was not then Solon who was satirized here for his greediness by Saint Gregory, but Alcmeon. As for myself, I pay less attention to the copies than to the truth of the matter, since I have no other way to detect in them the pure and genuine tradition preserved by time.

ὅτι καὶ καταβάλλει τὸν ὄγκον λεληθότως εἰς ὑπιότητα τῆ τοιαύτη μικροπρεπεία, καὶ οὐδὲ τοῦ βιαίου παντάπασιν ἀπηλλάχθαι δοκεῖ· ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον αὐτὰ τε ταῦτα καὶ τὸ ἀσαφὲς ἐπ' αὐτοῖς καὶ ἀπερινόητον προσά-
100 πτουνσι τῷ ῥητῷ οἱ καὶ περισπῶντες ἅμα τὸν σύνδεσμον καὶ δασύνοντες, ὡς τὸ «καθ' ἃ» δηλοῦν θέλοντα, καὶ μέντοι καὶ ἀναπαύοντες τελεία τὸ βούλεσθε, εἶθ' ὡς ἐξ ἐτέρας ἀρχῆς τὸ καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ σήμερον ἀξιοῦντες ἐκδέχεσθαι. ἔχεις οὖν ὡς ἐβούλου καὶ αὐτὸς τὸ ἡ βούλεσθε κατὰ γε τὸ ἡμῖν ἐφικτόν.

105 Ἡ δὲ τοῦ Σόλωνος ἀπληστία κάκεινου κατέψευσαι (σαφῶς ἴσθι, πάτερ) καὶ τοῦ καταψεύσασθαι ταύτην οὐκ ἐνδίκως ὑπειλημμένον· ὁμοίως γὰρ ἦ τε πρᾶξις τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀλλοτρία καὶ ὁ λόγος τοῦ λέγοντος, μᾶλλον δὲ τοῦ μὴ λέγοντος, συκοφαντουμένου δὲ λέγειν. τίς γὰρ ἄμεινον
V f. 58r ἐκεῖνου | τὴν Σόλωνος ἦδει περὶ χρήματα μεγαλοφροσύνην; τίς δὲ μάλ-
110 λον ἠπίστατο τὸ κατὰ Σόλωνα τε καὶ Κροῖσον πρᾶγμα καὶ θαῦμα, ὃ καὶ ὄχλος δημῶδης περιφόρητον ἔχει πανταχοῦ καὶ ἀοίδιμον; ἦδει μὲν οὖν καὶ ταῦτα μάλιστα πάντων ἐκεῖνος, ὃ πᾶσαν καὶ θείαν καὶ ἀνθρωπίνην γνῶσιν περιλαβὼν καὶ πολυμαθεία καὶ ἀκριβεία τοὺς ἐλλογίμους πάντας παρενεγκών· ἀλλ' οὐ Σόλωνος ἐνταῦθα καθήψατο, οὐ μὲν οὖν οὐδ' ἐμέλ-
115 λησεν· ἴσον γὰρ ὑπελάμβανε Σόλωνα τε σκώπτειν εἰς ἀπληστίαν καὶ Ἡρακλῆν εἰς δειλίαν. ἀλλὰ τίνα τὸν ἄπληστον προθεῖς διασύρει; τὸν ταῖς ἀληθείαις ἀπλήστως καταχρησάμενον τῷ Λυδῷ χρυσῷ, ὃν καλῶς στηλιτεύουσιν αἱ τε θύραθεν ἱστορίαι καὶ αὐτὸς ἀλλαχοῦ, οὕτω λέγων ἐν τοῖς ἐμμέτροις·

120 Ἄλκμαίωνος δὲ τίς τόδ' αἰνέσει ποτέ;
ὃς πρῶτ' Ἀθηνῶν τῶν ἀοιδίμων φέρων
τοσοῦτον ὄφθη χρημάτων ἠττώμενος
ὅσῳ περ εἰκὸς ἦν φανῆναι κρεῖττονα·
Κροῖσου γὰρ αὐτὸν πλείοσιν δεξιουμένου

V f. 58v καὶ ἐφεξῆς τὰ τῆς ἱστορίας· εὐρήσεις δὲ | τοὺς ἰάμβους ἐν τοῖς περὶ ἀρετῆς αὐτῷ γεγραμμένοις. οὐκ ἄρα Σόλων ἦν, ἀλλ' Ἀλκμαίων ὁ εἰς ἀπληστίαν κἀνταῦθα παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς κωμωδούμενος· ἦττον γὰρ ἔγωγε προσέχω τοῖς ἀντιγράφοις ἢ τῇ ἀληθείᾳ τοῦ πράγματος, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἄλλως οὐκ ἔχω συνορᾶν ἐν αὐτοῖς τὸ καθαρὸν καὶ ἀκίβδηλον ὑπὸ τοῦ χρόνου
130 σαφζόμενον.

105 Ἡ δὲ - κατέψευσαι: cf. Greg. Naz. Orat. IV,72 (184, 2-5 Bernardi); PG 35,593C || 116 Ἡρακλῆν -δειλίαν: cf. Dem. Cyd. Ep. 12,51 (1,39 Loenertz) || 117-118 ὃν - ἱστορία: Herod. VI, 125 || 120-124 Greg. Naz. Carm. Mor. PG 37,701 || 121 Ἀθηνῶν - ἀοιδίμων: cf. Pind. fr. 76

102 βούλεσθαι cum ε supra ai scripto A || 124 πλείοσιν: πλέοσι Lag. || 126 Ἀλκμαίων A

Now the τεσσαρισκαιδέκατον. I also write thus not by any grammatical analogy, but out of habit. It would be more correct for the sake of style to say τεσσαρασκαιδέκατον. But because the word was necessary to become declinable and changeable, forced to agree with every case and gender —so that one time it could be called τεσσαρακαίδεκα and the next τετρασικαίδεκα and again τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα— on account of such difficulties. I think these various forms had to be put aside and the *iota* alone to absolve all the necessary functions, that is signifying an adverbial meaning, as if it had been transformed from τετρακισκαίδεκα into τεσσαρισκαίδεκα, in the manner now that some understand τρισκαίδεκα, or because the *iota* is simpler than any other syllable or letter and due to its fineness conforms to every word as its name <= *iota*> suggests, being by its nature easy to adapt to and agree with all those words to which is added. On the other hand, the innovation appears more absurd with regard to the usage of the word εκατονταπλάσιον. What does this *τα* signify? How was it first introduced here? We do not know where it comes from. For we know εκατόγχειρα and εκατομπύλους cities and εκατομβοίους sacrifices and we confirm that they are correct and in accordance with the rules of orthography. But εκατοντάριθμος and Τυφῶν εκατοντακέφαλος seem monstrous, since this strange *τα* is displayed like another unnatural head together with those one hundred. However, ordinary language has created contrary to what is correct many other new words like these establishing them by force and by ousting correct usage.

But up to this point is enough from me. Because of what you are doing, you who are not observing the law, as a righteous person, you persuade me to transgress freely the rules of epistolography by violating them in my letters and by ruining their symmetry with such length. May you maintain an unflinching desire for such inquiries and discussions with those who have the leisure, for this kind of labour is good and of great profit for the worker. Now receiving only this much from me, seek again another opportunity for the other questions. May you rejoice in the Lord's true joy, sharing this very joy with me through your most pleasant letters and through your prayers.

Τὸν τεσσαρισκαιδέκατον μέντοι καὶ ἡμεῖς οὕτω γράφομεν, κατ' ἀναλογίαν μὲν οὐδεμίαν, κατὰ συνήθειαν δέ· ἦν μὲν γὰρ τὸ ἐντελὲς τῆ συνθήκη τεσσαρασκαιδέκατον λέγειν· ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ τὴν λέξιν πολύτροπον ἔδει καὶ πολυσχημάτιστον γίνεσθαι, βιαζομένην ἀρμόζεσθαι πρὸς ἐκά-
 135 στην τεπτῶσιν καὶ πρὸς ἕκαστον γένος, ὡς ποτὲ μὲν αὐτὴν τεσσαρακαί-
 δεκα λέγεσθαι, ποτὲ δὲ τετρασικαίδεκα, καὶ τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα πάλιν, διὰ τὴν τοιαύτην οἶμαι δυσχέρειαν παρεῶσθαι μὲν τούτους τοὺς ποικίλους μεταπλασμούς, τὸ ἴωτα δὲ μόνον τὴν τῶν πάντων χρεῖαν πεπληρωκέαι,
 V f. 59r ἥτοι σημασίαν ἐπιρρηματικὴν ὑπεμφαίνον, ὡς ἐκ τοῦ τετρακισκαίδεκα
 140 τάχα μεταπεπλασμένον εἰς τὸ τεσσαρισκαίδεκα, καθάπερ ἤδη τινὲς καὶ τὸ τρισκαίδεκα οἶονται, ἢ ὡς τῶν ἄλλων συλλαβῶν καὶ στοιχείων ἀπλού-
 στερον, καὶ διὰ πάντων ἵεναι φερωνύμως διὰ λεπτότητα, καὶ πᾶσιν ἐμπρέ-
 πειν ὁμαλῶς καὶ συμβαίνειν οἷς προστίθεται πεφυκός. ἀλογώτερος δὲ τῆς συνηθείας ὁ καινισμὸς περὶ τὸ εκατονταπλάσιον φαίνεται· τί γὰρ τοῦτο
 145 τὸ «τα»; πῶς ἐναυθῆα τὴν ἀρχὴν παρεισέδου; οὐκ οἶδαμεν πόθεν ἐστίν. ἴσμεν γὰρ εκατόγχειρα, καὶ πόλεις εκατομπύλους, καὶ θυσίας εκατομ-
 βοίους, καὶ μαρτυροῦμεν αὐτοῖς τὸ παρὰ τῆς ὀρθογραφίας ἀνάλογον· εκατοντάριθμος δὲ καὶ Τυφῶν εκατοντακέφαλος τέρας εἶναι δοκεῖ, τοῦ καινοῦ τούτου «τα» καθάπερ ἑτέρας κεφαλῆς παρὰ φύσιν ταῖς εκατόν
 150 ἐκείναις συνεκφανέντος. καὶ μὲν δὴ καὶ ἄλλα πλείστα τοιαῦτα παρὰ γνώ-
 V f. 59v μιν τῆς ἀκριβείας κεκαινοτόμηκεν ἢ συνήθεια, ἐφ' οἷς τυραννικῶς ἠ-
 ἐπεκράτησεν, ἐκείνην παρωσαμένη.

Ἄλλ' ἡμῖν ἄχρι τούτων· οἷα γὰρ καὶ ποιεῖς, ὁ μὴ νόμον ἔχων ὡς δίκαιος, παρανομεῖν κάμει πείθεις ἀφειδῶς ἐν τοῖς γράμμασι τοὺς ὄρους
 155 τῶν τύπων τῶν ἐπιστολικῶν ὑπερβαίνοντα καὶ λυμαινόμενον πῆχει τηλι-
 κούτῳ τὴν συμμετρίαν. αὐτὸς μὲν οὖν ἔχοις ἀπλήστως περὶ τὸ ζητεῖν τὰ τοιαῦτα καὶ συνδιαπορεῖν τοῖς σχολάζουσι, καλὸς γὰρ ὁ πόνος, καὶ πολυκερδῆς τῷ ποιοῦντι. τοσαῦτα δὲ μόνον παρ' ἡμῶν λαβῶν τέως, ζῆται καὶ καιρὸν πάλιν ἄλλον ἐπὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ζητήμασι· καὶ μοι τὴν ὄντως ἐν
 160 κυρίῳ χαῖρε χαράν, αὐτοῦ τε τούτου κάμοι διὰ τε τῶν ἡδίστων γραμμάτων σου διὰ τε τῶν εὐχῶν μεταδίδου.

145 οὐκ-ἐστίν: cf. Luc. 13,25 || 153-154 ὁ - δίκαιος. cf. I Tim. 1,9 || 154-155 τοὺς ὄρους -ὑπερβαίνοντα: cf. Greg. Naz. Ep. 51, 6 (I 66 Gallay)

131 τεσσαρεσκαίδεκατον Lag. || 143 post ὁμαλῶς καὶ add. ραδίως A | συμβαίνειν om. A || 154 γράμμασιν A

[To Gregorios]

Why do you impose labours upon me, holy father, which are unnecessary and demand to learn from me things which, I am certain, you know better than any one else and confront me with constant inquiries about matters that you have studied and examined more than any other? For indeed who else is so wise in matters both divine and human as our Gregorios, the man of God and mine (I shall not hesitate to boast about it), for whom life consists of nothing else but writings and books and continually delighting in the pleasures and the pleasantness of various discourses, in those in which you were reared and particularly in these sacred and divinely inspired, to which you devote most of your life. Therefore, to endeavour to say something to you about them is like teaching an Athenian how to sail or an eagle how to fly. However, this time I shall readily answer your present inquiries for I have learned that I must fulfill a command of my father.

There were three problems, of which the first requires more attention as it concerns the voice of truth, which says through the divine Luke «in one house there will be five divided, three against two and two against three». But when in what follows he counts each one of them separately, he does not yet produce the number five, but rather he adds a sixth, so that there are three pairs, not incomplete but perfect. Yet, you are asking, how, having presented five alone, has he produced the sixth? First of all, it does not seem to me that he relates the six, which he brings in, to these proposed five persons, neither does he subdivide again this group of five into six, but I think that the Word in this passage manifests a more mystical meaning, signifying how difficult it is to solve a conflict and how difficult is the path to peace and reconciliation for those who quarrel. Two people who are disputing with each other about two things, could easily be reconciled and brought to harmony. The same is true again when three people are quarreling about three different things, by assigning to each separately one of those highly prized stakes that create the dispute, thus dividing everything equally according to their number. But when three struggle about two things or the opposite, two people about three things, as in the passage, in this case by its very nature it is difficult to determine the struggle and hard to

<Τῷ Γρηγορίῳ>

17' Τί μοι κόπους παρέχεις, ἡγιασμένε πάτερ, οὐκ ἀναγκαίους, ἐκεῖνα παρ' ἐμοῦ μαθεῖν ἀπαιτῶν, ἅπερ ἄμεινον οἶδά σε τῶν ἄλλων εἰδότα, καὶ περὶ τούτων προσάγων συνεχεῖς μοι τὰς πεύσεις, ἃ πάντων μᾶλλον αὐτὸς
5 ἔξεμελέτησας καὶ ἠκρίβωσας; καὶ τίς γὰρ οὕτω σοφὸς τὰ τε θεῖα καὶ τὰ
V f. 60r ἀνθρώπινα ὡς ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἐμός, οὐ γὰρ ὀκνήσω τοῦτο μεγαλαυχῆσαι, Γρηγόριος, ᾧ τὸ ζῆν οὐδὲν ἄλλο πλὴν γραφαὶ τε καὶ βίβλοι καὶ τὸ κατα-
10 τρυφᾶν ἀεὶ τῆς τῶν λόγων ἡδονῆς καὶ γλυκύτητος, τῶν τε ἄλλων οἷς συνετράφης, καὶ μάλιστα δὴ τῶν θεοπνευστῶν τούτων καὶ ἱερῶν, περὶ οὓς
10 σοὶ τὸ πλέον ἀπασχολεῖται τοῦ βίου; ὥστε περὶ τούτων ὁ λέγειν ἐπιχει-
10 ρῶν τι πρὸς σὲ πλεῖν διδάσκει τὸν Ἀττικὸν ἢ τὸν ἀετὸν ἵπτασθαι. ὅμως (ἐντολὴν γὰρ ἐμάθομεν δεῖν πληροῦν πατρικὴν), ἀποκρινοῦμεθά σοι καὶ νῦν οὐκ ἀπροθύμως τὸ παριστάμενον.

Τρία δ' ἦν τὰ προβλήματα: ὧν τὸ πρῶτον καὶ μᾶλλον ἐπιστασίας
15 δεόμενον ἢ παρὰ τῷ θεῷ Λουκᾷ τῆς ἀληθείας φωνή, ἣτις ἔσονται, φάσκει, πέντε ἐν οἴκῳ ἐνὶ διαμερισμένοι, δύο ἐπὶ τρισὶ καὶ τρεῖς ἐπὶ δυσίν· οὓς ἐν τοῖς ἐξῆς ἀπαριθμουμένη καθ' ἕκαστον, οὐχ ἴστησιν ἔτι τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἐν τοῖς πέντε, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν ἕκτον προστίθησιν, ὡς εἶναι τρεῖς συζυγίας, οὐκ
V f. 60v ἐνδεεῖς, ἀλλ' ἀρτίους. πῶς οὖν φῆς προθεῖς πέντε μόνους καὶ τὸν ἕκτον
20 ἐπήνεγκε; πρῶτον μὲν οὖν οὐ μοι δοκεῖ πρὸς τοὺς πέντε τοὺς προκειμέ-
20 νους τοὺς ἐπαγομένους ἐξ ἐπιφέρειν, οὐδὲ τὴν πεντάδα δὴ ταύτην ὑπο-
20 διαιρεῖν καὶ πάλιν εἰς τὴν ἐξάδα, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖ μὲν ἠγοῦμαι τὸν λόγον μυστι-
25 κώτερόν τι δηλοῦν, τὸ τῆς μάχης αἰνιττόμενον δύσλυτον καὶ τὸ πρὸς εἰρήνην δυσξύμβατον τῶν μαχομένων καὶ δυσκατάλλακτον. δύο μὲν γὰρ
25 ἐπὶ δυσὶ τισὶ πράγμασιν ἀμφισβητοῦντας ἀλλήλοις οὐ δυσχερῶς τις ἂν εἰς ὁμόνοιαν συνελάσοι καὶ συναγάγοι, καὶ τρεῖς αὐ πάλιν ὁμοίως ἐπὶ τρισὶ διαφερομένους, ἕκαστον ἐκάστῳ προσαφορίσας καὶ ἀπονεύμας τῶν περιμαχῆτων ἐκείνων καὶ ποιούντων τὴν ἀμφισβήτησιν, καὶ οὕτως ἐπ' ἴσης πάντα τοῖς πᾶσι κατὰ τὸ ἰσάριθμον διελόμενος. ἔνθα δέ, ὡς τὸ
30 λόγιον, τρεῖς ἐπὶ δυσίν, ἢ τὸ ἔμπαλιν δύο ἐπὶ τρισὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ζυγομα-
30 χοῦσι — φύσει δύσκριτος ἐνταῦθα ἡ μάχη καὶ πρὸς τὴν διάλυσιν ἄπορος,

18: II τὸν ἀετὸν ἵπτασθαι: cf. CPG I 45, 351; II 55 || 16 Luc. 12,52

18: V 59^r-64^r A 229^r-234^r

I titulum ex linea 7 infra supplēvi || 23 αἰνιττόμενος A || 28-29 ἐπ' ἴσης Lag: ἐπίσης VA

bring about a compromise, inasmuch as no one is able to handle the problem suitably. At any rate, it would be necessary either to divide and to allot one of the three things to the two persons or by dividing the two things again, forcibly to allot them to the three, so that the equality would be duly preserved. But where there is a division of a thing, there is also a violation of nature that the Word wants to suggest to us, in order to show us the force of the message and the power of the Kingdom, which is indeed most violent and forceful, for the Scripture elsewhere declares openly, men of violence take it by force, or says, «what is impossible with men is possible with God». Perhaps it would be more reasonable not to connect the ensuing six persons with the above, but to accept it as having been added for the sake of example in order to illustrate this necessity, the one that I have already mentioned, and in order to teach the furious and irresistible power of the Gospel, by means of which it is possible to see broken even the unbreakable ties of a natural relationship. In my opinion the following seems more true and the other more convenient. Two against three: that is two relationships opposite three pairs. For as you know, against the father is the son, against the mother is the daughter and against the daughter-in-law is the mother-in-law and vice-versa- three pairs together opposite two such relationships. For a relationship is between two things, even if it is applied to many other cases, to which I shall add next the following in order to interpret and clarify the issue, so that we may accept that, on the one hand, the number three refers to the persons and the triple pairing among them, while on the other the number two refers to the relationship of one person to the other as seen in each of these three pairs. Such was the intention then of this Evangelist according to my judgement and estimation.

On the other hand, the divine Mark does not present the divine Word as being in conflict with himself, if indeed the Lord and lawgiver of the Old and New Testament is one and the same. But while he calls Abiathar an archpriest, history has transmitted Achimelech to us as a priest and not an archpriest, from which it is possible to conjecture that in those years, during which David was fleeing from the presence of Saul, Abiathar had the rank of an archpriest and that Achimelech was at that time entrusted with the priesthood, being appointed on that occasion by him and receiving in this case the duty of performing the order of divine worship daily, through the entire year. Abiathar, perhaps either because of his rank or out of respect for his advanced age, had gained superiority over all the other priests and, on account of this, had been completely released of his duties. For this reason it seems to me that by not being present at

- ἀτε μηδενὸς ἔχοντος προσφῶς τῷ πράγματι χρῆσασθαι. ἀνάγκη γὰρ
 V f. 61r πάντως ἢ τὸ ἐν τῶν τριῶν τοῖς δυσὶ προσώποις ἐπιμερίζειν, ἢ τὰ δύο
 35 τέμνοντας πάλιν εἰς τὰ τρία βιάζεσθαι, ὡς ἂν κατὰ λόγον ἢ ἰσότης ἀπο-
 35 σωθείη. ἔνθα δὲ τομὴ πράγματος, ἐκεῖ βία φύσεως· ἦν ὁ λόγος ἡμῖν
 ὑποδηλοῦν βούλεται, ὡς ἂν παραστήσῃ τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ κηρύγματος καὶ
 τὴν τῆς βασιλείας ἰσχύν, βαιοτάτην τε οὖσαν καὶ τὰ πάντα δραστήριον,
 ἐπεὶ καὶ βιαστὰς ἀρπάζειν αὐτὴν ἐν ἑτέροις ἀντικρυς ἀποφαίνεται, καὶ τὰ
 ἀδύνατα παρὰ ἀνθρώποις παρὰ τῷ θεῷ δυνατά φησι. τὴν δ' ἐπιφερομένην
 40 ἐξάδα μὴ πρὸς τοῦτο συνάπτειν εὐλογώτερον ἴσως, ἀλλ' οἷον παραδείγ-
 ματος ἔνεκεν προστεθειμένην ἐκδέχεσθαι, εἰς τὴν τῆς ἀνάγκης παράστα-
 σιν, ὅπερ ἔφαμεν ἤδη, καὶ πρὸς τὸ γνωρίσαι τὸ βραγδαῖον καὶ ἀνυπόστα-
 τον τῆς εὐαγγελικῆς ἐξουσίας, ὅφ' ἦς καὶ τοὺς ἀρρήκτους δεσμούς τῆς
 φυσικῆς σχέσεως ῥηγνυμένους ἔστιν ὄραν. ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν ἀληθέστερον
 45 κατὰ γε δόξαν ἐμὴν, ἐκεῖνο δὲ προχειρότερον· δύο ἐπὶ τρισὶ, δηλαδὴ δύο
 V f. 61v σχέσεις ἐπὶ συζυγίαις τρισίν. ἔχει γὰρ, ὡς περ οἴσθα, πρὸς μὲν τὸν υἱὸν ὁ
 πατήρ, πρὸς τὴν μητέρα δὲ ἡ θυγάτηρ, καὶ πρὸς τὴν νύμφην ἡ πενθερά.
 καὶ τὸ ἔμπαλιν· τρεῖς ὁμοῦ συζυγίαι, ἐπὶ δυσὶ ταύταις σχέσεσι. διπλοῦν
 γὰρ τὸ πρὸς τι, κἂν πολλοῖς ἐφαρμόζηται· οἷς ἀκολούθως ἐπισυναψόμεν
 50 τὰ ἐξῆς, ἐφερμηνεύοντες ὡς περ καὶ σαφηνίζοντες, ἵνα τὸ μὲν τρεῖς ἐπὶ
 τῶν προσώπων καὶ τῆς τριπλῆς ἐν ἐκείνοις συζυγίας ἀκούσωμεν, τὸ δὲ
 δύο ἐπὶ τῆς σχέσεως τῆς ἐπ' αὐτῶν τῶν τριῶν, ἐν δυάδι κατὰ τὸ πρὸς τι
 θεωρουμένης. τοιοῦτον μὲν δὴ τὸ τοῦ εὐαγγελιστοῦ τούτου βούλημα
 παρ' ἐμοὶ κριτῆ τε καὶ στοχαστῆ.
 55 Ὁ δὲ θεσπέσιος Μάρκος οὐχ ἑαυτῷ παράγει τὸν λόγον μαχόμενον,
 εἴπερ δὴ ὁ αὐτός ἐστι παλαιῶς τε καὶ νέας δεσπότης καὶ νομοθέτης, ἀλλ'
 Ἀβιάθαρ μὲν οὗτος ἀρχιερέα φησίν, ἡ ἱστορία δὲ Ἀχιμέλεχ ἱερέα ἡμῖν,
 οὐκ ἀρχιερέα, παρέδωκεν· ὡς ἐντεῦθεν τεκμαίρεσθαι τὸν Ἀβιάθαρ μὲν
 ἔχειν τὸ τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης ἀξίωμα κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους, καθ' οὓς
 V f. 62r Δαβὶδ ἔφευγεν ἀπὸ προσώπου Σαοῦλ, τὸν Ἀχιμέλεχ δὲ τότε τὰ τῆς
 ἱερωσύνης μεταχειρίζεσθαι, ὅφ' ἐκείνῳ τέως ταττόμενον καὶ τὰ τῆς θείας
 λατρείας ἦτοι κατ' ἐφημερίαν τηνικαῦτα λαχόντα ἢ δι' ὄλου ἀνύοντα,
 ὡς τοῦ Ἀβιάθαρ τυχόν τοῦτο μὲν ἀξιώματι, τοῦτο δὲ καὶ γήρως αἰδοῖ τὴν
 65 τῆς ὑπηρεσίας ἀπηλλαγμένον· ἐξ οὗ μοι δοκεῖ διαφυγεῖν καὶ τὸν κίνδυνον

38 βιαστὰς - αὐτήν: cf. Matth. 11,12 || 38-39 Luc. 18,27 || 55 Ὁ - μαχόμενον: cf. Marc. 2,26

45 προ χειρότερον ante una litt. erasa V || 49 τι: τί Lag. | κἂν Lag: κἂν VA || 52 τι: τί Lag

the events of that time, he was able to escape the danger, contributing no further on the rescue of the king. It would not be unreasonable to assume that Abiathar was the father of Achimelech, because we find the son of Achimelech to be called, in turn, Abiathar. We know that it was a common practice for the most part among the ancients to bestow the name of the father to their offspring. But by investigating the problem in the following manner, it seems that it is possible to attain a plausible solution. It has been commonly reported that most of the ancients were addressed by two names. It is not unlikely for Abiathar to have been also called Achimelech, an explanation which satisfies most of those who have examined this passage more carefully. For it is possible to assume that Achimelech — «whosoever he be» — was also called Avimelech, the name being very misleading and inconsistent for the most part.

The third problem, a «theological» one, I myself consider nothing but a scribal mistake, for it is clear that it was made due to the ignorance of most. Although they should have retained in the text the name of Joab instead of Absalom, so that the account would accurately fit the <actual> story, subsequent generations wrongly removed the name of Joab, ignoring the truth and introducing in the passage the name of Absalom instead of his. They were induced to this kind of falsehood because somewhere in the Scriptures there is mention of the hand of Absalom (for this is how he named the pillar that he had erected). But actually the truth is not so but rather that as I have said. And this becomes clear from nothing else than the story itself. For the story presents David suspiciously asking the woman of Thekoa, who was mediating for the sake of Absalom not openly, but with some contrivance and concealment: «Is not the hand of Joab with you in all this?» As if he were saying «oh woman, was it not with the counsel and the advice of Joab (which he called «a hand» on account of his prowess and energy) that you have invented this sly trick in order to make a petition for the sake of Absalom?». It seems to me then that in this case the wise and divine teacher had accepted this as a kind of proverb, very much in keeping with the nature and importance of his illustrious and magnifi-

νον ὡς μὴ παρὼν τοῖς τότε πραχθεῖσι μηδ' ἔτι συντελέσας πρὸς τὴν σωτηρίαν τοῦ βασιλέως. οὐκ ἀπεικότως δ' ἂν δόξειε καὶ πατήρ ὁ Ἀβιά-
 70 θαρ εἶναι τοῦ Ἀχιμέλεχ· εὐρίσκομεν γὰρ τὸν τοῦ Ἀχιμέλεχ υἱὸν Ἀβιά-
 θαρ αὐθις καλούμενον, ὅπερ σύνηθες ἴσμεν ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πλεῖστον τοῖς πα-
 τριοῖς τὰς τῶν πατέρων προσηγορίας τοῖς ἐκγόνοις ἐπιφημίζουσιν. οὕ-
 τως ἡμῖν ἐξεταζόμενον φαίνεται τοῦ πιθανοῦ μᾶλλον ἄπτεσθαι τὸ περὶ
 τὴν λύσιν θεώρημα. ἐκεῖνο δὲ καὶ διατεθρύληται ὡς διωνύμως οἱ πλείστοι
 V f. 62v τῶν ἀρχαίων προσηγορεύοντο· καὶ τὸν Ἀβιάθαρ οὐκ ἀπεικός ἐστι καὶ
 Ἀχιμέλεχ καλεῖσθαι, ὃ τοῖς πλείστοις ἀρέσκει τῶν ὀξύτερον τοῦτο τὸ
 75 χωρίον ἐπισκευμένων· ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸν Ἀχιμέλεχ αὐτόν — ὅστις ποτὲ ἐστὶ
 — καὶ Ἀβιμέλεχ καλούμενον ὑπάρχει λαβεῖν, οὕτω πλανωμένης καὶ
 ἀστατούσης ὡς τὰ πολλὰ τῆς προσηγορίας.

Τὸ δὲ θεολογικόν τε καὶ τρίτον ἐν τοῖς προβλήμασιν οὐδὲν ὅτι μὴ
 σαφῶς ἔγωγε γραφικὸν λέγω πταῖσμα, δῆλον ὅτι κατ' ἄγνοιαν ἀμαρτηθὲν
 80 τῶν πολλῶν. δέον γὰρ Ἰωάβ ἀντ' Ἀβεσσαλὼμ εἶναι κείσθαι, ἵν' ὁ λόγος
 ἀπταιστώως πρὸς τὴν ἱστορίαν ἡρμόζετο, τὸν Ἰωάβ μὲν ἀπώσαντο κακῶς
 οἱ μεταγενέστεροι, τὸ ἀληθὲς ἀγνοήσαντες, τὸν Ἀβεσσαλὼμ δ' ἀντ'
 ἐκείνου τῷ ῥητῷ παρενεῖραν, ἐκ τῆς παρὰ τῇ Γραφῇ που κειμένης χειρὸς
 τοῦ Ἀβεσσαλὼμ, οὕτω γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ὠνόμασεν ἢν ἀνέστησε στήλην, τὴν
 85 τοιαύτην πλάνην παραδεξάμενοι. ἔχει δ' ὄντως οὐχ οὕτω τὸ ἀληθές,
 ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνος μᾶλλον ὡς ἔφαμεν· καὶ τοῦτο δῆλον οὐκ ἄλλοθεν, ἀλλὰ
 παρ' αὐτῆς ἐκείνης τῆς ἱστορίας. εἰσάγει γὰρ τὸν Δαβὶδ πρὸς τὴν Θεκαί-
 V f. 63r τιν ὑπὲρ Ἀβεσσαλὼμ οὐκ ἐξ εὐθείας πρεσβεύουσαν, ἀλλὰ μετὰ τινος
 μηχανῆς τε καὶ ἐπικρύψεως, σὺν ὑπονοίᾳ φθεγγόμενον «μὴ ἡ χεὶρ Ἰωάβ
 90 ἐν παντὶ τούτῳ μετὰ σοῦ;», ὡς εἰ ἔλεγε, «Μὴ τι, ὦ γύναι, κατὰ συμβουλήν
 καὶ ὑποθήκην τοῦ Ἰωάβ» — ἢν καλεῖ χεῖρα διὰ τὸ ἐνεργόν τε καὶ πρα-
 κτικόν — «τὸ τοιοῦτόν σοι σόφισμα πρὸς τὴν ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἀβεσσαλὼμ
 ἔντευξιν ἐσκαίωρηται;» τοῦτο τοίνυν δοκεῖ μοι τὸν σοφὸν καὶ θεῖον διδά-
 σκαλον εἰς τὴν προκειμένην ὑπόθεσιν ὡς ἐν παροιμίας εἶδει παραλαβεῖν,
 95 εὖ μάλᾳ προσφωδῶς καὶ ἀξίως τῆς ἐκείνου λαμπρᾶς καὶ μεγαλοπρεποῦς

67-69 πατήρ - καλούμενον: cf. I Reg. 21, 1; 22,9, 23,6; II Reg. 8,17; I Par. 24,3; Ps. 51,2 || 74-75 ὁ -ἐπισκευμένων: fontem non inveni || 75 ὅστις - ἐστὶ: cf. Aesch. Ag. 160 || 80-81 δέον - ἡρμόζετο: cf. Greg. Naz. Orat. XXI, 15 (140,6-7 Mossay - Lafontaine); PG 35,1097 || 83-84 ἐκ - στήλην: cf. II Reg. 18,18 || 89-90 II Reg. 14,19

69 ἐπιτοπλείστον V || 72 διωνύμως Lag || 88 Ἀβεσσαλὼν Lag. || 90 τούτῳ: τόπῳ A || 94 παραλαβεῖν: παραλαχεῖν A

cent intellect, and that many years later the passage was twisted to have suffered such a corruption and change —so that this passage has suffered what the common folk call «a mistake resulting from a correction»— as also happened with that disputed passage in the *Invectives*, where Solon is being ridiculed for greediness, instead of Alcmeon, as my recent answers have taught you.

It is no wonder at all if someone had the utter boldness to «alter something in those things that should be unaltered», since this kind of innovation appears to have made a bold bid even against the untouchable and unapproachable Scriptures, particularly if you have carefully read the passage «this took place in Bethany beyond the Jordan». The more experienced and wise of our teachers say outright that we must not write Bethany, but Bethabara. Because it is this place Bethabara that it is situated on the other side of Jordan. Bethany is situated not across the Jordan but in the vicinity of Jerusalem, somewhere in the outskirts of the city, as you would agree, having seen those places there yourself. Furthermore, with regard to the passage, «to a village at a distance of sixty stadia», some extend the number to many more, some, on the contrary, limit it to only thirty, pointing out that it is Emmaus rather which is exactly at this distance from Jerusalem. To all such problems they bring forward one solution —that the copies are not infallible nor blameless in their text, an explanation that I have also introduced with good reason in the discussion of this «theological» inquiry.

So much for these problems. What more can one write in a letter? I have dealt with the solutions of the other problems in some other letters and as for the remaining ones, God willing, I shall undertake them in time, only if I perceive that your impartial opinion indeed confirms that they are accurate and exact. Yet nothing could be better than having you back with us, as you promised, to talk face to face and to hear you discussing both these matters and also the other ones which it is right for us to discuss and investigate. I hope and pray to Him who fulfills «the desire of those who fear Him» that I shall obtain this very soon.

διανοίας, ἐν πολλοῖς δὲ τοῖς ὕστερον τὸν λόγον στρεφόμενον τὴν τοιαύτην λαβεῖν ὑποφθοράν καὶ ἀλλοίωσιν, ὡς συμβῆναι τῷ ῥητῷ τούτῳ τὸ παρὰ τοῖς ὄχλοις ᾄδόμενον ἐκ διορθώσεως σφάλμα, καθάπερ κἀκεῖν τῷ ἐν τοῖς στηλιτευτικοῖς ἀντιλεγόμενῳ, ἔνθα Σόλων εἰς ἀπληστίαν ἀντί
100 Ἄλκμαῖωνος διασύρεται, ὡς αἰ πρὸ μικροῦ σε διδάσκουσι παρ' ἡμῶν ἀποκρίσεις.

V f. 63v Θαυμαστὸν δὲ οὐδὲν, εἴ τις ὄλως ἐθάρρησε τούτων τι κινήσαι τῶν ἀκινήτων, ὁπότε καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν ἀψαύστων καὶ ἀπροσίτων λογίων ἢ τοιαύτη καινοτομία κατατολήσασα φαίνεται, εἴ σοι μὴ παρέργως ἀνέγνωσαι
105 τὸ ταῦτα ἐν Βηθανίᾳ ἐγένετο, πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου. ἀντικρυς γὰρ Βηθαβαρά φασιν, ἀλλ' οὐ Βηθανίαν, δεῖν γράφειν οἱ τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς διδασκάλων ἐμπειρότεροι καὶ σοφώτεροι· ἐκεῖνης γὰρ εἶναι τὸ πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου, Βηθανίαν δ' οὐ πέραν, ἀλλὰ προσεχῶς γειτονεῖν Ἱεροσολύμοις, αὐτοῦ που κειμένην πρὸ τοῦ περιβόλου τῆς πόλεως, ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς ἂν συμφαιῆς,
110 ὁ τῶν ἐκεῖσε τόπων ἐπόπτης. ἔτι δὲ τὸ εἰς κόμην ἀπέχουσαν σταδίου ἐξήκοντα οἱ μὲν εἰς πολλῷ πλείους τούτων ἐκτείνουσι, οἱ δὲ τοῦναντίον εἰς τριάκοντα μόνους ἐπισυνάγουσιν, ἀποδεικνύντες τοσοῦτον ἀφροσύνην μᾶλλον τὴν Ἐμμαοῦντα τῆς Ἱερουσαλὴμ πρὸς ἀκρίβειαν. πᾶσι δὲ τοῖς τοιοῦτοις μίαν λύσιν ἐπάγουσι, τὸ τῶν ἀντιγράφων οὐκ ἄπταιστον
115 περὶ τὴν γραφὴν οὐδ' ἀνέγκλητον· ᾗ λόγῳ καὶ ἡμεῖς οὐκ ἀλόγως πρὸς τὸ θεολογικὸν κεχρήμεθα ζήτημα.

V f. 64r Ἐπερὶ μὲν οὖν τούτων ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον· τί γὰρ ἂν καὶ μηκύνοι τις ἐν ἐπιστολῇ περαιτέρω; τῶν δ' ἄλλων τὰς λύσεις ἐν ἑτέροις ἐποίησάμεθα, τὰς δέ, θεοῦ δόντος, ἐν καιρῷ ποιησόμεθα· μόνον, εἴπερ αἰσθόμεθα τὴν σὴν
120 ἀδέκαστον ψῆφον τὸ εὐεπήβολόν τε καὶ καίριον ἐπιμαρτυροῦσαν αὐταῖς. οὐδὲν μέντοι τοιοῦτον, οἷον αὐτὸν σὲ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀφιγμένον ὡς ἢ ὑπόσχεσις, στόμα κατὰ στόμα λαλήσαι, καὶ λαλούντων ἀκοῦσαι περὶ τε τούτων αὐτῶν, καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὧν θέμις φιλολογεῖν ἡμᾶς καὶ φιλοσοφεῖν· οὐ τυχεῖν τὴν ταχίστην ἐλπίζομεν ὁμοῦ καὶ εὐχόμεθα παρὰ τοῦ ποιούντος τὸ
125 θέλημα τῶν φοβουμένων αὐτόν.

98 ἐκ - σφάλμα: fontem non inveni || 100-101 ὡς - ἀποκρίσεις: cf. supra Ep. 17,105 sqq. || 102-103 CPG I, 22; II 5, 265 || 105 Ioann. 1,28 || 108 Βηθανίαν - Ἱεροσολύμοις: cf. Ioann. 11,18 || 110-111 Luc. 24,13 || 118 τῶν -ἐποίησάμεθα: cf. supra Ep. 17,13 sqq. || 125 Ps. 144,19

160 Ἄλκμαῖωνος A || 105 Βηθαβαρά: Βηθαβαρά VA || 119 αἰσθανόμεθα Lag.

What are you saying, my good man? Am I the one who loves human authority? Am I the one who is fond of human honours? Am I the friend and counsellor of the Emperor and on account of this have become unsociable and inaccessible to the humble? Be silent, father, be silent and above all do not attribute to me qualities that more rightly belong to others. Indeed, I fail to understand altogether the precise reason for these respectful statements of the man — so that you may be reminded, if you have forgotten, oh excellent one — who last year was visiting the palace with pomp, carried up to the entrance by carriage (such was his softness and indolence), walking from there in a more dignified manner with a cane until he came within view and sight of the Emperor, then limping somewhat expertly and sighing softly. To an extent this was real (for dear is the truth), because he had been wounded in the rear, but for the most part, I think, it was invented so that he might appear more venerable (indeed, I hesitate to say, miserable) and on account of it, might be deemed deserving a prized chair. Well then, I at least know that this man, «whether in the body, I do not know» or out of the body, I do not know, God knows — as did most of the people — that he came out of there carrying a bulky bag of many talents of gold and while arriving poor in appearance, he went away instantly rich and with still greater contempt for all others. About «such a person I shall boast», if one should boast at all, but about myself I shall boast no more. Because, although I had many a time the honour to have a seat in the palace (I ought not lie about it to a friend and a holy man), yet by no means did I have such a reception. I rested my feet but my hands were not taken care of, because I was usually sent away empty-handed and because I was not, like him, as it seems, so very clever or fortunate.

But what are you hiding, as you laugh? Unless I am guessing incorrectly, surely, I suppose, as a wise and shrewd man, you have recognized probably both the act and you have known the actor. Let then your object of invective be him, since you have chosen once and for all to reproach human lives, while being resolved to ridicule those who are greatly excited by glory. But you shall attack me more accurately by aiming rather at other faults of mine and reproaching these shortcomings. Indeed, you know well that you shall not fail to find shortcomings in me, just as you would not fail to find wood on a ship or stone in case you might be climbing a stone staircase — to cite a more familiar example from your own experience. Therefore, choose another fault of mine to

10' Τί λέγεις, ἄνθρωπε, ἡμεῖς δυναστείαν ἀνθρωπίνην θαυμάζομεν; ἡμεῖς ἔρασταί τῆς ἐξ ἀνθρώπων τιμῆς; ἡμεῖς βασιλέων φίλοι καὶ σύνοδροι καὶ τοῖς ταπεινοῖς τούτου χάριν ἀνομίλητοι καὶ ἀπρόσιτοι; εὐφήμει, πάτερ, εὐφήμει καὶ μὴ τὰ προσόντα μᾶλλον ἐτέροις ἡμῖν ὡς ἴδια πρόφερε. πάνυ V f. 64v γὰρ ἀγνοοῦμεν, τίνος μάλιστα ταῦτα τὰ σεμνὰ διηγῆματα τοῦ πέρυσι | φοιτῶντος, ᾧ βέλτιστε, μετὰ δορυφορίας εἰς τὰ βασίλεια, ὡς ἂν ἀναμνη- σθῆς, εἰ ἐκλέλῃσαι, καὶ μέχρι μὲν τῶν προθύρων ἐν φορεῖᾳ κομιζομένου (τοσαύτη τις ἦν ἡ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τρυφή καὶ βλακεία), τὸ ἐντεῦθεν δὲ σοβα- ρώτερον ὑπὸ βακτηρία βαδίζοντος, ἐπὶ δ' εἰς ὄψιν ἀφίκοιτο καὶ θέαν 10 τοῦ βασιλέως, ὑποσκάζοντός πως εὐτέχνως καὶ ἡρέμα στενάζοντος, τὸ μὲν τι καὶ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν (φίλη γὰρ ἡ ἀλήθεια) ὡς τὸν γλουτὸν πεπληγό- τος, πεπλασμένον δ' οἶμαι τὸ πλεόν, ἵνα καὶ δόξῃ μᾶλλον αἰδοῖος (ἐλεει- νὸς γὰρ λέγειν ὀκνᾷ), καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καθέδρας ἀξιωθῆ ζηλωτῆς. ἐγωγε τοῖνυν τὸν τοιοῦτον ἄνθρωπον οἶδα· εἴτε ἐν σώματι, οὐκ οἶδα· εἴτε καὶ οὐχ 15 οὕτως, οὐκ οἶδα· ὁ θεὸς οἶδε (καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων) ὡς ἐξῆλθεν ἐκεῖθεν, ἀπόδεσμον ἀνέχων ἄδρον πολυταλάντου χρυσοῦ, καὶ πένης τῷ δοκεῖν προσελθῶν, ἀπῆλθεν εὐδαίμων ἐν ἀκαρεῖ, μετὰ πλείονος ἔτι τῆς κατὰ πάντων ὑπεροψίας. περὶ τοῦ τοιοῦτου καυχῆσομαι, εἴ τι δεῖ καὶ καυ- V f. 65r χήσασθαι, | περὶ ἑμαυτοῦ δὲ οὐκέτι, ὅς καθέδρας μὲν πλεονάκις, οὐ γὰρ 20 δεῖ ψεῦδεσθαι, καὶ ταῦτα πρὸς φίλον ἄνδρα καὶ ἱερόν, τηλικαύτης δὲ δεξιῶσεως οὐδ' ὀλιγάκις ἤξιωμα· ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν πόδας ἀνέπαυσα, τὰς δὲ χεῖρας οὐκ ἐθεράπευσα, κενὰς γὰρ ἔχων ἀπεπεμπόμην, ἐπεὶ μὴ πάντα ἦμην, ὡς ἔοικεν, εὐτυχῆς μὴδ' εὐφυῆς κατ' ἐκείνον. Ἄλλὰ τί γελῶν ἐγκαλύπτῃ; εἰ μὴ κακὸς ἐγὼ στοχαστῆς, ἡ που τάχα 25 συνήκας ὡς σοφὸς καὶ ἀγχίνους καὶ τὴν τε πρᾶξιν ὁμοῦ καὶ τὸν ἐργάτην ἐγνώρισας. ἐκεῖνος οὖν ἔστα σοι σκοπὸς εἰς διαβολήν, ἐπειδὴ ἀπαξ ἐκρι- νας ἀνθρωπίνους βίους κακίζεις, καὶ σκώπτειν δοκεῖ σοι τοὺς πρὸς δόξαν ἐπτοημένους· ἡμᾶς δὲ βαλεῖς εὐστοχώτερον, ἐφ' ἐτέροις μᾶλλον τοξεύων καὶ τοιαῦτα μεμφόμενος· οὐ γὰρ ἀτυχήσεις, εὐ ἴσθι, παρ' ἡμῖν ἐλαττώμα- 30 τος, ὡς οὐδ' ἐν πλοίῳ σανίδος, οὐδὲ λίθου τυχὸν κατὰ λιθίνης κλίμακος ἐνεχθεῖς, ἵνα γνωριμώτερον ἔχῃς ἐκ τῆς πείρας καὶ τὸ ὑπόδειγμα. ἄλλο

19: 11 φίλη - ἀλήθεια: cf. Arist. Eth. Nic. I 4, 1096a 14-17 || 14 II Cor. 12,2 || 18 II Cor. 12,5 || 30 οὐδ' -σανίδος: cf. Strömberg 100

19: V 64'-65' A 234'-235'
11 μέντοι A || 11-12 πεπηγόςτος A

reproach, if you wish, but abstain, oh blessed one, from this kind of attack and accusation. Because you yourself are a man with passions like mine and no one among men, or only the rarest of men, has completely despised glory. I shall omit for your own sake, making money and the desire to grow rich. Since I have smitten a peg suitably with a peg, striking a reproach with a reproach, henceforth peace with you and farewell.

20

You continuously wage war against me and bear a grudge, oh wretched man, at one time accusing me of being idle, calling my silence sluggishness, my contemplative way of life misanthropic and my freedom from distractions conceited, doing nothing else but, as they say, simply turning «everything upside down». Now, as if «heads have become tails» and the dice has fallen with the other side up, you are reproaching and mocking me for the opposite. The wanton result of your daring is this now: as if you have forgotten your former self, you come as a new prosecutor with new charges against me, indeed, as if you have utterly forgotten those old complaints which many a time you accused me of. But you have changed from your old ways only to the extent that in this case you turn the names of things upside down: calling conversation with many people, thirst for popularity; public recognition, display; benevolence, ambition; and social intercourse, the attempt to please people. In a word, oh man, you seem to me to like nothing about me but for each one of these deeds of mine you carefully lay in wait and you are on the spot to attack and to fight against them whenever one of them manifests itself.

But you, oh excellent one, should no longer act like this, neither should you deny your previous good and wise words of advice, nor should you become unexpectedly «a deer instead of a virgin». But if you are, indeed, still disposed in the same way towards me and you have not changed all of a sudden, elevate yourself to your own philosophic principles which many a time you taught me and acknowledge the present fruit begotten by your own seed. In any case, you

V f. 65v τοῖνυν ἀμάρτημα τῶν ἡμετέρων ἀπολαβόν, εἰ σοι φίλον, λοιδορεῖ· τούτου δὲ τοῦ μέρους καὶ τοῦ ἐγκλήματος ἀπόσχου, μακάριε· καὶ γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς ἄνθρωπος ὁμοιοπαθῆς ἡμῖν εἶ, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἢ παντά-
35 πασι σπάνιος ὁ καθ' ὄλου δόξης καταφρονήσας, ἵνα χάριν σὴν παραλείψω τὸ χρηματιστικὸν καὶ φιλόπλουτον. ἐπεὶ δὲ πασσάλῳ τὸν πάσσαλον προσφυῶς ἐξεκρούσαμεν, μέμψει πλῆξαντες μέμψιν, τὸ ἐντεῦθεν εἰρήνη σοι πολλή. καὶ ὑγίαινε.

20

κ' Ἀεὶ μοι, σκέτλιε, σὺ προσπολεμεῖς καὶ φθονεῖς, νῦν μὲν ἐγκαλῶν ὡς ἀπράγμονι, καὶ καλῶν τὴν ἡσυχίαν νωθρότητα, καὶ μισάνθρωπον τὸ φιλόσοφον, καὶ τῦφον τὸ ἀπερίσπαστον, καὶ οὐδὲν ἀπλῶς ἄλλο ἢ τὰ ἄνω κάτω ποιῶν, ὃ δὴ λέγεται, νῦν δέ, καθάπερ ὀστράκου μεταπεσόντος ἢ καὶ κύβου
5 περιτραπέντος, εἰς τὰ ἐναντία με κακίζων καὶ σκώπτων. τοῦτο δὴ τὸ νῦν νεανίευμα τῆς σῆς γενναιότητος· ὡσπερ γὰρ ἐκλαθόμενος τῶν πάλαι λόγων ἐκείνων οὐδὲς πολλακίς μεμψόμενος ἐποιοῦ πρὸς ἡμᾶς καὶ οἰοεὶ σαυ-
V f. 66r τὸν ἄγνοήσας ἢ κεις νέος κατήγορος ἐπὶ νεωτέροις ἐγκλήμασι, τοσοῦτον ἐκείνου τοῦ συνήθους οὐκ ἐξιστάμενος, ὅσον ἀναστρέφειν κἀνατῦθα
10 τὰς τῶν πραγμάτων προσηγορίας, δοξοκοπῖαν μὲν ὀνομάζων τὴν πρὸς τοὺς πολλοὺς ὁμιλίαν, ἐπίδειξιν δὲ τὴν εἰς τὸ μέσον ἀνάδειξιν, φιλοτιμίαν δὲ τὸ φιλάνθρωπον, καὶ τὸ κοινωνικὸν ἀνθρωπάρεσκον· συνελόντα δ' εἰπεῖν, ἐπ' οὐδενὶ δοκεῖς μοι, ὦ ἄνθρωπε, τῶν ἡμετέρων ἀρέσκεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐπιμελῶς ἐνεδρεῦειν ἕκαστον τούτων καὶ αἰεὶ τῷ νῦν φαινομένῳ
15 ἐπιπηδᾶν καὶ προσμάχεσθαι.

Ἄλλὰ μὴ σύ γε, ὦ ἄριστε, μηκέτι ποιεῖ ὁμοίως μηδὲ τοὺς πρὶν καλοὺς λόγους καὶ σοφοὺς ἐκείνους ἀποποιῶ μηδ' ἔλαφος γίνου παραδόξως ἀντιπαρθένου· ἀλλ' εἴπερ ἔτι καὶ νῦν ὁ αὐτὸς ἡμῖν εἶ καὶ οὐκ ἀθρόον ἠλλοίωσαι, ἀναγε σαυτὸν εἰς τὰ φιλοσοφηθέντα σοι πρὸς ἡμᾶς πλεονάκεις καὶ
20 γνῶθι τὸν παρόντα καρπὸν ἀπὸ τῶν σῶν ἐκφύοντα σπερμάτων. καὶ πάντως

36-37 πασσάλῳ - ἐξεκρούσαμεν: cf. CPG I, 253; II, 171

20: 3 CPG II, 61 || 4 CPG I, 285; II, 45 || 17-18 Strömberg 55; Salzmann 21 || 20 τὸν-σπερμάτων: cf. Matth. 12,33

20: V 65^v-67^r A 235^v-237^r
2 τὸ: τὸν A

should decide one of the two: either in condemning me you first condemn yourself inasmuch as you have not instructed me well or that you are guilt-free, thus redeeming me also; because good teachers (lest you wish the contrary) teach good lessons and any work is worth as much as its creator and thus is a student worthy of his teacher; acknowledge your gratitude to me, sparing me the accusations, because I have rendered you blessed, for you have delivered your lectures on public life to attentive ears.

Cast off, therefore, the irony, teacher, and do not laugh smartly, unless the picture I draw is wrong, at what I am saying, but be content now with what I am doing and rejoice seeing your seed already being multiplied thirty times over; and if you bestow upon me your good wishes, you will receive perhaps sixty or even a hundred times over in return. But take the envy out of your words when I attain a more eminent authority and distinction (because these were your former wise admonitions and counsel) and when you hear that I have greater and more complete influence, even with the Emperor himself and the Patriarch. You should be, therefore, patient and magnanimous, praying that you may have more students of this kind, both obedient and clever. Pray also for my future good repute, for in that respect I refuse to yield to you at all, in spite of the fact that you have completely dissassociated yourself from my present good name, because I wish to claim a good portion of this fame in the days to come. Therefore, solicit my success in the future in your prayers, since you were its cause through your admonitions, so that you may act in everything in a suitable manner and one befitting yourself. As with me, may you too see your blessed hopes fulfilled.

21

I also made a request of the Father, following the example of the Lord, and instead of himself he provided me with another «comforter», but not to stay with me forever (had it been in this manner your gift would have been full and

γε τῶν δύο τὸ ἕτερον· ἢ σαυτοῦ προκατάγνωθι καταγινώσκων ἡμῶν ὡς οὐ
V f. 66v καλῶς ἡμᾶς ἐκπαίδευσαντος ἢ σαυτὸν αἰτίας ἀφεις καὶ ἡμᾶς συναπόλυε,
ἐπειδὴ καλῶν διδασκάλων, εἰ μὴ τοῦναντίον ζητεῖς, καλὰ τὰ μαθήματα,
καὶ τὸ ἔργον ἄξιον τοῦ τεχνίτου, καὶ ὁ μαθητὴς τοῦ διδάξαντος. καὶ μοι
25 χάριτας γίνωσκε, τὰς μέμψεις λιπῶν, ὅτι σε μακάριον ἔδειξα εἰς ἀκούον-
τος ὧτα τοὺς περὶ πολιτείας λόγους λαλήσαντα.

Κατάβαλε τοίνυν τὴν εἰρωνείαν, διδάσκαλε, καὶ μὴ γέλα κομψόν, εἰ
μὴ κακῶς εἰκάζω πρὸς τὰ λεγόμενα, ἀλλ' ἀρέσκου νῦν γε τοῖς πραττομέ-
νοις, καὶ χαῖρε τὸν σπόρον σου πληθυνθέντα ὄρων εἰς τὸν τριάκοντα
30 τέως· εἰ δὲ ταῖς εὐχαῖς ἐπαρδεύσεις, ἀποδώσει σοι τάχα καὶ τὸν ἐξήκοντα,
τάχα δὲ καὶ τὸν ἑκατόν. ἀλλ' ἀπέστω φθόνος τοῦ λόγου, ἐπὶ δυναστείας
καὶ δόξης λαμπροτέρας ἐπιλαβόμεθα (τοῦτο γὰρ αἱ πάλαι σοφαί σου
νουθεσίαι καὶ ὑποθήκαι) καὶ ἀκουσθῶμεν σοι ἔτι μείζω καὶ τελεώτερα καὶ
παρὰ βασιλεῦσιν αὐτοῖς καὶ παρὰ πατριάρχαις δυνάμενοι· σὺ δ' ἀνέχου
V f. 67r καὶ μακροθύμει καὶ πλείους εὐχου τοιούτους μαθητάς | σοι γενέσθαι,
εὐπειθεῖς τε ἅμα καὶ δεξιούς, αἴτει δὲ καὶ τὴν μέλλουσαν ἡμῖν εὐδοξίαν·
οὐδ' ἐκείνης γὰρ ἀνεχόμεθα παντελῶς σοι παραχωρῆσαι, κἂν αὐτὸς ἡμῖν
τῆς παρουσίας ὅλως ἐξέστης, ἀλλ' ἀρκοῦσαν μοῖρᾴν τινα κάκεισε ζητοῦ-
μεν. ὥστε προμνηστεύου κάκεινην διὰ τῶν σῶν ἡμῖν προσευχῶν, ὥσπερ
40 ταύτης ἐγένου διὰ τῶν παραινέσεων πρόξενος, ἵνα πανταχοῦ σαυτῷ σύμ-
φωνα καὶ πρέποντα πράττης. τύχοις δέ μοι καὶ σὺ τῶν μακαρίων ἐλπίδων
σου.

21

κα' Ἡρώτησα καὶ γὰρ τὸν πατέρα, δεσποτικοῖς ἐπόμενος ὑποδείγμασι, καὶ
ἄλλον παράκλητον ἀνθ' ἑαυτοῦ μοι παρέσχεν, οὐχ ἵνα μένη μεθ' ἡμῶν
εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα (ἦν γὰρ ἂν σοι τὸ δῶρον πλήρες καὶ τέλειον, τοῦτον ἔχον

23 καλῶν - μαθήματα: cf. Greg. Naz. Orat. XXXVIII, 5 (PG 36, 316C) || 25-26 εἰς - ὧτα: cf. Matth. 11,15 || 29-31 τριάκοντα-ἑκατόν: cf. Marc. 4,20

29 τὸν² om. A || 37 κἂν Lag: κἂν VA

21: 1-2 Ἡρώτησα - παράκλητον: cf. Ioann. 14,16

21: V 67^r-68^r A 23^r-239^r

perfect, my holy and righteous second father, for I shall confess the truth even if it distresses me), but to be taken away from me quickly and before his time, because he called the «comforter» back to himself, as if he had changed his mind. What you do, then is not at all holy, neither does it reflect the divine example, even if you appear so and from what you lead one to suspect, you wish to appear so, enwrapping yourself in a thick cloud and revealing yourself perhaps only to those near you (or simply to those worthy); but to me who am far away and not worthy of such vision, only after some time you send a faint and dim light, that is, these few pieces of a short letter, ordering me to be content with only this — your back. You are probably saying to yourself, «my face shall not be seen by you», unspiritual and earthly man, in this way making it clear that I am lowly, and being «earth and dust», it seems, I have not the courage to gaze at a more divine sight.

But you, oh blessed one, hidden and invisible, stand firmly on your pedestal, shedding none of your glory at all, nor allowing yourself to condescend for a while to me as I cleave to earth. Perhaps you fear that as soon as your purity shares something of my defilement it will communicate to me, the impure one, some of its holiness. And yet you see that, here again, you differ from Him who became man out of love for mankind and who, without committing any sin took away the sins of the world, by associating and living with us common people, to whom, as the archetype, you raise your sights and you direct your zeal, unless you lie openly against the holy habit, which prescribes the cross and the following of the crucified One.

But, as it has been said, stay unsociable and unfriendly to me, since you wish it, to be inspired only by your own contemplation and that of those to whom this has been granted. As for me, being completely excluded from that first illumination and being deprived of this second hardly before it dawned upon me, I shall necessarily again humble myself and shall contemplate more thoroughly the maxim «know thyself» measuring the brevity and short duration of human life by the presence and departure of the man <whom you sent and

τὸν τρόπον, ὃ πάτερ ἄλλε ἡμέτερε, δίκαιέ τε καὶ ἅγιε· τὸ γὰρ ἀληθές
5 ὁμολογήσω καὶ ἀνιώμενος), ἀλλ' ἵνα· πάλιν ἀφέληται ταχέως καὶ πρὸ
καιροῦ, πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἀφ' ἡμῶν ὡς ἐκ μεταμελείας ἀνακαλούμενος. τοῦτο
V f. 67v μὲν οὖν οὐκέτι σοι θεῖον οὐδ' εἰς θεοῦ φέρον μίμησιν, κὰν τάλλα θεὸν ἢ
παραμιμῆσθαι δοκῆς· δοκεῖς δὲ καὶ βούλει δοκεῖν, ἐξ ὧν ὑπονοεῖν δίδως,
νέφος μὲν καὶ αὐτὸς ἀποκρυφῆν τιθεῖς σεαυτοῦ, μόνοις δὲ τυχὸν τοῖς
10 ἐγγύς ἢ καὶ τοῖς ἀξίοις ἀπλῶς ἀποκαλυπτόμενος, ἡμῖν δὲ τοῖς πόρρω καὶ
οὐχ ἱκανοῖς πρὸς θεὸν τοιαύτην διὰ χρόνου καὶ μόλις ἀμυδρὰς καὶ βρα-
χειάς ἐπιπέμπων αὐγάς, τὰ σμικρότατα ταῦτα τῶν ἐπιστολιδίων τεμάχια,
καὶ κελεύων ἀρκεῖσθαι τοῖς ὀπισθίοις σου τούτοις· τὸ δὲ πρόσωπόν μου,
φῆς που τάχα κατὰ σαυτὸν, οὐκ ὀφθῆσεται σοι, χαμαίζηλε καὶ γῆϊνε ἄν-
15 θρωπε, ἡμᾶς οὕτω λέγων δῆλον ὅτι τοὺς ταπεινοὺς, οἵτινες ὄντες γῆ καὶ
σποδός, θειοτέραν ὄψιν, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἐνεγκεῖν οὐ θαρροῦμεθα.

Σὺ μὲν οὖν, ὦ μακάριε καὶ κρύφιε καὶ ἀθέατε, ἐπὶ τῆς ἰδίας ἐδραΐως
μένε περιωπῆς, μηδ' ἐπὶ μικρὸν τι κενούμενος τῆς δόξης τῆς σεαυτοῦ
μηδὲ συγκαταβαίνειν ἡμῖν τοῖς ἐρχομένοις χαμαὶ κατὰ καιρὸν ἀνεχόμε-
20 νος· δέος γὰρ ἴσως μὴ πρότερον ἢ σὴ καθαρότης παραπολαύσοι τι τοῦ
V f. 68r μολύσματος ἢ ἡμῖν τοῖς ἀνάγνοις μεταδοίη τῆς ἀγιότητος. καίτοιγε καὶ
τοῦτό σοι πάλιν ὄρας ὡς ἀνόμοιον πρὸς τὸν φιλανθρώπως ἐνανθρωπήσαν-
τα καὶ τῆ μεθ' ἡμῶν τῶν πολλῶν ἀναστροφῆ τε καὶ συμβιώσει ἀναμαρ-
τήτως ἐξάραντα τοῦ κόσμου τὴν ἁμαρτίαν, πρὸς ὃν ὡς ἀρχέτυπον ὁ σκο-
25 πός τε σοι τείνει καὶ ὁ ζῆλος ἐπείγεται, εἰ μὴ τοῦ σχήματος ἀντικρυς τοῦ
σεπτοῦ καταψεύδη, ὃ σοι τὸν σταυρὸν ὑπογράφει καὶ τὴν τοῦ σταυρωθέν-
τος ἐπακολούθησιν.

Πλὴν ὅπερ εἴρηται, σὺ μὲν ἄμικτος οὕτω μοι καὶ ἀκοινώνητος μένε,
ἐπειδὴ τοῦτο βούλει, τῆ σεαυτοῦ θεωρίᾳ καὶ τῶν οἷς τοῦτο δέδοται κινού-
30 μενος μόνῃ, ἡμεῖς δὲ τῆς τε πρώτης παντάπασι λαμπηδόνος ἀποκλεισθέν-
τες καὶ τὴν δευτέραν ταύτην ἀφαιρεθέντες πρὶν σχεδὸν αὐγασθῆναι,
πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς ἀναγκαίως πάλιν συσταλησόμεθα, καὶ τὸ γνῶθι σαυτὸν φι-
λοσοφήσομεν τελεώτερον, τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης ζωῆς τὸ βραχὺ καὶ ὀλιγοχρό-
V f. 68v νιον τῆ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς παρουσίᾳ καὶ ἀναχωρήσει μετρήσαντες· ὃ τῶν πάλαι

9 ἀποκρυφῆν - σεαυτοῦ: cf. Ps. 17,11; Job 24,15 || 13-14 Exod. 33,23 || 15-16 Gen. 18,27 || 18 κενούμενος -σεαυτοῦ: cf. Phil. 2,7 || 19 ἡμῖν - χαμαί: cf. Hom. Il. 5, 442 || 26-27 τοῦ - ἐπακολούθησιν: cf. Matth. 16,24 || 32 CPG I, 391

took away so soon>. This very fact, a wise man of the past, demonstrated and thereby gained a reputation — when he was asked how long the life of man lasts, he appeared for a while and then disappeared. But even though you are not to be seen, report at least that you are sustained by divine grace, because I am still indulgent even if I am not treated indulgently. Furthermore, may you fare well yourself as well as the good company around you, for it is appropriate for you, the blessed chorus, as someone somewhere said, «to be untiring and carefree»; if you wish, add to it — «and be immortal for ever».

22

saith he. «propose today and listen tomorrow». The saying here is about words and not about gifts. But you, the unfailingly swift, having been asked for pears in the summer, have just sent them in the middle of winter. You should be congratulated for the promptness of the dispatch; this then is the meaning of «no sooner said than done». But why should I reproach the blameless for the sake of a fruit and suffer like a child instead of behaving like a man? For the appetite for such things is much greater among children than among men. You have actually performed a man's work as a favour to a friend, sending me the fruit in this season, though it is out of season, and by improvising such a plan you were able to curb my uncontrollable desire for such a luxurious delicacy. Because the cold of the season will suffice to prevent me from eating something cold, which I know is the cause of many diseases of the body, especially mine, which is distressed most of all by attacks of cold. I am therefore grateful to you for taking care of me and for attending to my well-being rather than to my pleasure, delivering me from some future mishap and cutting me off from many of these goods that cause sickness by withholding their dispatch to me until now — to say it somewhat more elegantly. But may you also continue to enjoy good health because you have kept my health intact.

35 σοφῶν τις ἐνδειξάμενος ἔθουμάσθη, ὅτε πόσος ὁ βίος τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐρωτηθεῖς, μικρόν τι φανείς ἀπεκρύψατο. ἀλλά μοι καὶ μὴ ὀρώμενος, ἀγγέλλοιο γοῦν ὑπὸ τῆς χάριτος συντηρούμενος· εὐγνωμονοῦμεν γὰρ ἔτι, κἂν οὐκ εὐγνώμονα πάσχωμεν. εὐ τοίνυν ἔχοις αὐτός τε καὶ ἡ περὶ σὲ καλὴ συνοδία, ἐπειδὴ καὶ πρέπον ὑμῖν ἐστὶ τῷ χορῷ τῶν μακάρων, ὡς που
40 τις εἶπεν, ἀκαμάτους εἶναι καὶ ἀκηδέας· εἰ δὲ βούλει, προστίθει καὶ ἀθανάτους ἡμᾶτα πάντα.

22

κβ' Σήμερον πρόβαλλε καὶ αὔριον ἀκροῶ, φησί. περὶ λόγων ὁ λόγος, οὐ περὶ δῶρων. σὺ δ' ὁ πάντα ταχύς, θέρους αἰτηθεῖς τὰς ἀπίους, μόλις ἔστειλας μεσοῦντος χειμῶνος· εὐγε τοῦ ἐτοίμου τῆς μεταδόσεως. τοῦτο ἄρα ἐκεῖνο ἄμ' ἔπος ἄμ' ἔργον τε. ἀλλὰ τί μοι τὸν ἄμεμπτον ὀπώρας
5 μέμφεσθαι χάριν, καὶ παιδὸς πάσχειν πάθος, οὐκ ἀνδρὸς ποιεῖν ἔργον; V f. 69r τοῖς παισὶ γὰρ μᾶλλον ἢ ὄρεξις ἤπερ τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἡμῖν περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα λιχνεύεται. σὺ δ' ἀνδρὸς ὄντως ἔργον πρὸς ἀνδρα φίλον εἰργάσω, ἐν καιρῷ μοι χρησάμενος τούτῳ δὴ τῷ παρὰ καιρόν, καὶ οὕτω μηχανησάμενος τὸ ἀκρατὲς ἡμῖν χαλινῶσαι τῆς πρὸς ταῦτα λιχνείας· τῷ ψυχρῷ γὰρ
10 ἀρκέσει τὸ τῆς ὄρας κατάστημα πρὸς ψυχοφαγίας ἀποτροπῆν, ὕφ' ἧς τὰ πλείω συμβαίνει τῶν νοσημάτων οἶδα τοῖς σώμασι, τῷ καθ' ἡμᾶς δὲ καὶ μᾶλλον, ὃ λυπεῖ πάντων μάλιστα πολιορκοῦν τὸ ψυχρόν. χάρις οὖν διὰ τοῦτο τῆς ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν σοι προνοίας, ὅτι τοῦ συμφέροντος πλεον ἤπερ τοῦ ἡδέος ἐφρόντισας, καὶ κακοῦ τινος μέλλοντος ἡμᾶς ἐλυτρώσω, τῆς
15 νοσοποιοῦ ταύτης ὕλης τὸ πλείστον ὑποτεμόμενος τῇ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν περὶ τὴν ἀποστολῆν, ὡς ἂν εἶπω τι καὶ τῶν κομψοτέρων, ὑποστολῆ. ἀλλά μοι καὶ αὐτὸς ἐρρωμένος διατελοίης, ἐπειδὴ τὴν ὑγείαν ἡμῖν ἀνεπηρέαστον συνετήρησας.

35-36 ὅτε - ἀπεκρύψατο: cf. Aphthon. Progymn. III, 5-8 (4 Rabe) || 40 ἀκαμάτους - ἀκηδέας: locum non inveni || 40-41 Hom. II. 8, 539

35 ὁ post βίος add. A || 38 κἂν Lag: κἂν VA

22: 1 Philostr. Vit. Soph. 2,9,2 (II 88 Kayser) || 4 CPG I, 27; II, 6

22: V 68^v-69^r A 239^v
I φησὶν A

[To Konstantinos]

I was recently surrounded by the sacred chorus of divine philosophy, oh wise head and true head of the philosophers. With them I conversed no less in a friendly than in an intellectual way, and in the end we separated admiring one another. What they admired in me I do not know (I myself am not conscious of anything praiseworthy in me) but there was a lot for me to admire in them: noble nature, intelligence, sagacity, decency, love of learning, erudition, desire and enthusiasm to attend to literary topics (because this is what you call their all-consuming irrepressible ardour) and above all their common understanding and aspiration for that which is good or perfect. What could be better than the promotion and election of my wise Konstantinos to the honours of wisdom and his reception of a teaching chair? You now «haunt the lofty heights of wisdom», as Empedocles says, and «you bring rejoicing to me in the full bloom of song» (to quote this time like Pindar) and appear as «an image of Hermes the Logios», as «a moving» and speaking «library» to our generation of men, «upon whom the end of the ages has come» with such a drought of knowledge and learning. On account of this, therefore, I especially admired and greatly praised these young men and I promised them with an eagerness equal to theirs, my cooperation in their pursuits insofar as these concern the imperial authority and the consent of the rest of the youth who are now devoted to studies and learning. And to you, my dear and honoured friend, I offer everything that I have and contribute it to your support, above all my whole self, according to your principles and I shall try, with the help of good fortune, to be second to none as far as my support of your learning and friendship is concerned, being second neither to those who are your admirers and pursuers, nor to someone else among those who, with good reason, care about your interests, especially about this divine science, which is already in danger of disappearing from our lives. Having prevailed then in all these —or to speak rather like you, having harmon-

<Τῷ Κωνσταντίνῳ>

κγ' "Ἄρτι με τῆς θείας φιλοσοφίας ὁ ἱερός χορός περιέσχεν, ὃ σοφὴ κε-
 V f. 69v φαλή, καὶ φιλοσόφων ὅ,τι κεφάλαιον, πρὸς οὓς ὠμιλήσαμεν, οὐκ ὀλίγα
 μὲν φιλικῶς, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ λογικῶς, καὶ τέλος ἀπήλθομεν ἀλλήλων θου-
 5 μάσαντες, οἱ μὲν οὐκ οἶδ' ὅ,τι τῶν ἡμετέρων, οὐδὲ γὰρ αὐτοῖς τῶν
 ἀξιεπαίων τι σύνισμεν, ἡμεῖς δ' ἐκείνων πολλὰ τὸ μεγαλοφυές, τὸ εὐσύ-
 νετον, τὸ ἀγχίνου, τὸ κόσμιον, τὸ φιλομαθές, τὸ πολυμαθές, τὸ περι-
 λόγων ἀκρόασιν ἐρωτικόν τε καὶ μανικόν, οὕτω γάρ πως αὐτοῖς τὸ περι-
 φλεγές καὶ ἀκάθεκτον καλεῖτε τῆς προθυμίας, ἐπὶ πᾶσι δὲ τούτοις τὴν
 10 περὶ τὸ καλὸν ἢ τὸ κάλλιστον ὁμοφροσύνην καὶ σύμπνοιαν. τί δ' ἂν
 γένοιτο κάλλιον τῆς τοῦ ἐμοῦ σοφοῦ Κωνσταντίνου προτιμήσεως καὶ
 προκρίσεως περὶ τὰ σοφίας πρεσβεῖα καὶ τὴν τοῦ διδασκαλικοῦ παράλη-
 ψιν θρόνου; ὃς νῦν ἐπ' ἄκροισι ταύτης κατ' Ἐμπεδοκλέα θαμίζεις, ἀγλαΐζη
 μοι δὲ καὶ μουσικῆς ἐν αὐτῷ (τὸ Πινδαρικὸν πάλιν τοῦτο), καὶ τύπος Ἐρ-
 V f. 70r μοῦ λογίου ἢ μουσεῖον κινούμενον καὶ φθεγγόμενον τῆ καθ' ἡμᾶς δοίκεῖς
 σήμερον γενεᾷ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, εἰς οὓς τὰ τέλη τῶν αἰῶνων κατήντησε σὺν
 αὐχμῷ τηλικούτῳ γνώσεως καὶ παιδείσεως. ἐπὶ τούτῳ τοίνυν ἐγὼ διαφε-
 ρόντως τοὺς νέους πολλὰ μὲν ἐθαύμασα, πολλὰ δὲ ἐπήνεσα, κάκεινοις
 μὲν μάλα πρόθυμος προθύμοις ἐπηγγειλάμην τὴν εἰς τὸ σπουδαζόμενον
 20 σύμπραξιν, ὅσα τε πρὸς τὴν αὐτοκρατορικὴν ἐξουσίαν ἀνήκει, καὶ ὅσα
 πρὸς τὴν συναίνεσιν τῆς ἄλλης νεότητος, ὀπόση περὶ λόγους ἔχει νῦν
 καὶ μαθήματα· καὶ σοὶ δὲ τῆ φίλῃ καὶ τιμῇ ψυχῇ τὰ ἐμαυτοῦ πάντα
 φέρων, εἰς τὴν σύναρσιν ἐπιδίδωμι καὶ ἐμαυτὸν πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις ὄλον
 καὶ πάντα, τοῦτο δὴ τὸ ὑμέτερον, καὶ σὺν ἀγαθῇ πειράσομαι τύχη μηδε-
 25 νὸς ἐλθεῖν δευτερός εἰς τὴν ὑπὲρ τῆς σῆς καὶ σοφίας καὶ φιλίας σπουδῆν,
 μήτ' αὐτῶν ἤδη τούτων, τῶν ταύτης ἐραστῶν τε καὶ θηρατῶν, μηθ' ἐτέ-
 ρου τινὸς τῶν ὄσοις καὶ μάλα κατὰ λόγον μέλει τὰ σά, μᾶλλον δὲ τὰ τοῦ
 V f. 70v θεοῦ τούτου μαθήματος ἤδη παντελῶς κινδυνεύοντος ἀπορρηῆναι τοῦ
 βίου. ὡς κρατῶν σὺν ταῖς πάσαις ἢ (τὸ σὸν εἰπεῖν μᾶλλον) τὴν διὰ πασῶν

23: 13 Emp. 4, 8 || 13-14 Pind. Olymp. 1,14-15 || 14-15 cf. Lucian. Apol. 2; Jul. Orat. IV, 132a. || 15 cf. Eun. Vit. Soph. 456B || 16 I Cor. 10,11 || 16-17 σὺν - παιδείσεως; cf. Plat. Men. 70c 4 || 24 σὺν - τύχη; Plat. Symp. 177e; Crit. 43d

23: V 69^r-70^v A 239^r-241^r
 I titulum ex linea 11 infra supplevi

ized all the strings of the lyre with you— take this task in hand with great determination and adhere to this undertaking with diligence and courage, under the good guidance of God, who shall bring it to an auspicious end.

24

Even though I write only a few words, nevertheless they are more than yours; therefore, find fault with neither the scantiness nor the fewness of my letters, unless you wish to suffer the sound of the reflected echo «whatsoever word you speak, such shall you also hear». This much will suffice for you now: best wishes for everything and may you report that you are rejoicing and recovering little by little from your past sorrows, and know also that the carrier of the letter belongs to the circle of my former students. Offering yourself to him (and it is just to do so) you shall make me rejoice. To sum up what was said, fare well, which is most appropriate for you because of the time and place.

25

The more you distance yourself by fleeing, the more you are overtaken, so that you realize that you cannot avoid or escape friendship. Already now you have been caught like some exhausted runaway and my net has captured your noble self, (if it pleases you to refer to letters in this manner), whose grip and violence you shall not otherwise escape — unless beforehand you deliver this man, who offers you these letters, from further unjust violence for my own sake, because he is one of my most dear friends, whereas violence is to me most hateful. Therefore, for my own sake —and even more for the sake of justice— you should rescue this man, on my claim, from holy tyranny. Because the tyranny of the priests should be called by this name, just as our war is now a holy war. And send this man back to me quickly and well-pleased and full of praises for you on account of your kindness to him. May you appear full of every joy and very soon be accorded your rightful gains, since this prayer arose from this occasion.

30 ἐν τοσοῦτοις ἔχων συμφθεγγομένην σοι, δραστικώτερον ἐγγείρει τῷ ἔργῳ, καὶ τῆς πείρας ἀντέχου μοι φιλοπονώτερόν τε καὶ γενναιότερον, θεοῦ καλῶς ἡγουμένου καὶ τὴν προκειμένην εἰς αἴσιον κατευθύνοντος πέρας.

24

κδ' Κὰν ὀλίγα τὰ παρ' ἡμῶν, ἀλλὰ πλείω πάντως τῶν παρὰ σοῦ, ὥστε μήτε τὸ σπάνιον μήτε τὸ σπανιάκις ἐγκάλει τοῖς γραφομένοις, εἰ μὴ βούλει παθεῖν τὸ τῆς ἀνακλωμένης ἠχοῦς, οἷόν κ' εἴρησθα ἔπος, τοῖόν κ' ἐπακούσας. καὶ νῦν οὖν τοσοῦτον ἐξαρκέσει πρὸς σέ· εὐ μοι πρᾶττε διὰ 5 πολλὰ καὶ ἀγγέλλοιο χαίρων καὶ κατὰ μικρὸν τῆς προτέρας κατηφείας ἐξαναφέρων. εἶτα μέντοι καὶ τόνδε τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἴσθι κύκλου τῶν ποτὲ φοιτητῶν, ᾧ σαυτὸν χαρισάμενος, ἔνθα καὶ χαρίσασθαι δίκαιον, ἡμῖν χαριῆ. κεφάλαιον δὲ τῶν εἰρημένων, ὕγαινε· οὐ καὶ μάλιστα δεῖ σοι διὰ τὴν ὄραν καὶ χῶραν.

25

V f. 71r κε' Ὅσῳ φεύγων μακρύνεις, τοσοῦτῳ καταλαμβάνη, ἵνα γνῶς ὅπως ἄφυκτον φιλία καὶ ἀναπόδραστος. ἤδη τοίνυν ἐάλως ὥσπερ τις φυγὰς κεκμηκῶς, καὶ σε λίνα κατέχει τὸν γενναῖον ἐμά, εἴ σοι καλεῖν οὕτω φίλον τὰ παρ' ἐμοῦ ταῦτα γράμματα· ὧν οὐκ ἄλλως ἐκφεύξῃ μοι τὴν βίαν καὶ τὴν 5 λαβὴν, εἰ μὴ καὶ αὐτὸς τοῦτον πρότερον, ὅς σοι ταῦτα προσφέρει, βίας ἄλλης ἀδίκου διὰ τὸν πρεσβεύοντα ῥύση, ἐπειδὴ μοι καὶ οὗτος τῶν λίαν κεχαρισμένων, κάκεινη τῶν πάνυ μισουμένων ἐστί. χάριν τοίνυν ἡμῶν —καὶ πρὸ ἡμῶν τοῦ δικαίου — σφίζειν τοῦτον δικαίου μοι τῆς ἱερᾶς τυραννίδος· λεγέσθω γὰρ οὕτως ἢ τῶν ἱερέων ἡμῶν, ὥσπερ ἤδη καὶ πόλε- 10 μος ἱερός ὁ ἡμέτερος· καὶ μοι θάττον ἀνάπεμπε τὸν ἄνδρα θυμήρη καὶ τῆς σῆς εὐφημίας ἐφ' οἷς εὐ πείσεται, πλήρη. πλήρης δὲ μοι καὶ σὺ θυμηδίας τε πάσης καὶ δικαίων ὡς τάχιστα κερδῶν ἐποφθείης, ἐπειδὴ καὶ τοῦτο πεποίηκεν εὐχὴν ἢ περίστασις.

24: 3-4 Hom. II 20, 250 || 4 εὐ - πρᾶττε: cf. CPG I 413; II 169

24: V 70^r A 241^r
I Käv Lag: Käv VA || 6 τόδε Lag

25: V 70^v-71^r A 241^r

[To the Emperor]

My holy Lord, glorified and crowned by God: «the lamp of the body», according to the divine Scripture, «is the eye». If the eye is shining, «the whole body shall also be full of light» and likewise vice versa; if the eye is full of darkness, the whole body shall thus be full of darkness. Since, then, all of us, your insignificant servants, are considered your limbs under your authority, in the same way as we are to Christ, and you again are not only our eye but the whole head, being an image and likeness and type of Christ, this we all desire, this we ask, for this we constantly pray to God: that your rule, which is governed by God, may last for many years to come and be strong, healthy, prosperous, happy, successful in all respects and glorified in every way. Because if your rule prospers in all these respects, because of divine Grace, the result shall be our common welfare, and nothing harmful shall injure us, nothing troublesome shall grieve us, neither the pressing winter, nor the evil ones numerous though they be, nor the scarcity of the necessities, nor any other misfortune which may be brought to bear upon frivolous men such as myself as a warning and a lesson. For the well-being and the preservation of your glorious rule, I well know, can make sweet all these adversities, and shall indeed make them sweet, «like sweet honey». For when we turn our minds to the welfare of your rule it seems that we no longer feel the vexing troubles and are not mindful of the unpleasanties resulting from them, but we become therefrom filled with joy, drawing our pleasure as if from some ever-flowing spring of the imperial happiness.

For this reason, we beg and entreat and pray you with all our power not to allow grief to take possession of your unconquerable soul to such an extent as to fall completely defeated by it and be cast down to the point of feebleness. Neither should you be incited against the offences of the ungrateful nor should

<Τῷ βασιλεῖ>

κς' Δέσποτά μου ἄγιε, θεοδόξαστε καὶ θεόστεπτε, ὁ λύχνος τοῦ σώματός
 V f. 71v ἔστιν ὁ ὀφθαλμὸς κατὰ τὴν θείαν φωνήν· ἐὰν οὖν ἐκεῖνος ἢ φωτεινός, καὶ
 ὅλον τὸ σῶμα φωτεινὸν ἔσται. ὥσπερ πάλιν τὸ ἐναντίον· εἰ αὐτὸς σκοτει-
 5 νός, καὶ τὸ σῶμα πᾶν οὕτω σκοτεινὸν ἔσται. Ἐπεὶ τοίνυν πάντες ἡμεῖς οἱ
 εὐτελεῖς οἰκέται καὶ ὑπὸ χεῖρα μέλη σὰ λογιζόμεθα, καθάπερ δὴ καὶ
 Χριστοῦ, σὺ δὲ πάλιν ἡμῶν οὐκ ὀφθαλμὸς μόνον εἶ, ἀλλ' ὀλόκληρος
 κεφαλὴ, εἰκὼν καὶ ὁμοίωμα καὶ τύπος ὢν Χριστοῦ, τοῦτο πάντες ποθοῦ-
 μεν, τοῦτο ζητοῦμεν, ὑπὲρ τούτου δεόμεθα διὰ παντὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, ζῆν εἰς
 10 μῆκιστον χρόνον, εὐεκτεῖν, ὑγιαίνειν, εὐτυχεῖν, εὐθυμεῖν, εὐοδοῦσθαι
 πρὸς πάντα, καὶ διὰ πάντων δοξάζεσθαι τὸ θεοκυβέρνητον κράτος σου. εἰ
 γὰρ αὐτὸ πᾶσι τούτοις διὰ τὴν θείαν χάριν ἐνευπαθεῖ, κοινὸν ἡμῖν ἔσται
 τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἐξ αὐτοῦ, καὶ οὐδὲν ἡμᾶς ἀδικήσει τῶν βλαβερῶν, οὐδὲν λυπή-
 σει τῶν δυσχερῶν, οὐχ ὁ πιέζων χειμῶν, οὐχ οἱ πονηροὶ πλεονάζοντες, οὐ
 15 τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἢ σπάνις, οὐ συμφορά τις ἑτέρα πρὸς νοθεσίαν καὶ
 παιδευσιν τοῖς κατ' ἐμὲ ῥαθύμοις ἐπαγομένη. ὥς γὰρ μέλι γλυκάζον ταῦτα
 V f. 72r πάντα γλυκαίνει καὶ γλυκανεῖ, σαφῶς οἶδα, τοῦ δεδοξασμένου σου κρά-
 τος ἢ εὐζωΐα καὶ σωτηρία, πρὸς ἣν ἡμεῖς ἀφορῶντες τῶν μὲν ἐνοχλούν-
 των κακῶν ἀνεπαισθήτως ἔχειν δοκοῦμεν, καὶ μικρὰ τῆς ἐκείθεν ἀηδίας
 20 ἐπιστρεφόμεθα, μεστοὶ δὲ γινόμεθα τῆς ἐντεῦθεν χαρᾶς, ὥσπερ ἕκ τινος
 πηγῆς ἀειρύτου τῆς βασιλικῆς εὐθυμίας τὴν ἡδονὴν ἀρυόμενοι.
 Διὰ τοῦτο παρακαλοῦμεν καὶ πάση δυνάμει δυσωποῦμεν καὶ ἀξιοῦ-
 μεν, μὴ τοσοῦτον νῦν συγχωρῆσαι τῇ λύπῃ κατὰ τῆς ἀηττήτου ψυχῆς
 σου, ὥστε παρ' αὐτῆς οὕτω πάντῃ νικηθεῖσαν καταπεσεῖν καὶ ὑπομείναι
 25 τὴν πτώσιν, ἄχρι καὶ ἀρρωστίας, μηδὲ πρὸς τὰς τῶν ἀγνωμόνων πλημμε-

26: 2-3 Matth. 6, 22 || 4 Luc. 11,34 || 6-7 ὑπὸ - Χριστοῦ: cf. Rom. 12, 4-5 || 16 Ezech. 3,3

26: V 71^r-74^r A 241^r-245^r

1 titulum ex linea 2 infra supplevi || 12 ἐνευπαθεῖ Lag: ἐνευπαθη VA || 24 πάντῃ A Lag

you be inflamed with justifiable anger against them, so as to betray the stability of your mind and distress a body «which is worth more than many others», and distress a noble soul which does not deserve to be afflicted with such suffering. But you should also in this case reflect in a manner befitting your magnificence and sovereignty, and you should manifest now more than for ever before your control over your emotions, on account of which your power is admired more than anything else, for indeed it shines forth with many and great virtues, so that you may even in this respect benefit us, your servants, who are always affected by your own disposition, prospering when you fare well, as it was said, and likewise, in the opposite case, suffering along with you. You shall thus serve God, the defender of your salvation and of your kingdom, who has put all the rebels under your feet, who has now granted you a bloodless victory over them. He demands no other recompense from you for this alliance but your gentleness alone and your magnanimity towards the guilty. For he proclaims a wonderful promise, saying, if you forgive, I shall forgive and the measure you give will be the measure you receive.

If, therefore, you are held accountable for something as a human being, free these debtors of their charge, so that in your prayers you may become more convincing in securing a similar treatment, using your own forgiveness of the upstarts as a good argument. Besides this a greater proof of magnanimity you shall not have the chance to give at another time, neither shall you erect another more magnificent trophy than by repaying now with long-suffering those who distressed you so. For to strike back at those who have struck us and to return the evil to those who started it may perhaps be pleasant but is actually inglorious, since it is a practice common to all men among whom the desire to return pain for pain exists by nature. But to control through long-suffering your justifiable wrath against those who have seriously wronged you and to use philosophy to force this passionate and faint-hearted and contemptuous nature of ours to become an impassible and divine one — this is a rare act among the sons of men and more rare especially among Emperors, whose power and freedom from liability allows them to inflict punishment with an insatiable

λείας παρακινούμενον καὶ τοῖς κατ' αὐτῶν πυρπολούμενον ἐνδίκους θυμοῖς τὴν τῶν λογισμῶν προδοῦναι στερρότητα, καὶ κακῶσαι μὲν σῶμα, πολλῶν ἀντάξιον ἄλλων, κακῶσαι δὲ ψυχὴν εὐγενῆ καὶ οὐκ ἀξίαν τοιαύταις ταλαιπωρεῖν περιστάσεσιν, ἀλλὰ φιλοσοφῆσαι κἀνταῦθα μεγαλοπρεπῶς καὶ βασιλικῶς καὶ τὸ ἐν τοῖς πάθεσιν ἄτρεπτον νῦν εἴπερ ποτὲ δεῖξαι, ἐφ' ᾧ τὸ σὸν κράτος ὡς ἐπ' οὐδενὶ τῶν ἄλλων θαυμάζεται, καίτοι γε πολλοῖς καὶ μεγάλοις ὑπερλάμπον πλεονεκτήμασιν, ὡς ἂν τοὺς τε δούλους ἡμᾶς εὖ ποιήσης κἀν τούτῳ, οἱ ταῖς κατὰ σὲ διαθέσεσιν αἰσυνδιατιθέμεθα, καὶ ὥσπερ εὖ ἔχοντι συνευεκτοῦμεν ὡς εἴρηται, οὕτω
35 τούναντίον συγκακουχούμεθα, θεραπείης δὲ καὶ θεόν, τὸν τῆς σῆς σωτηρίας καὶ βασιλείας προστάτην, ὃς ὑπέταξε πάντας τοὺς ἀποστατοῦντας ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας σου, ὃς ἀναίμακτον νίκην κατ' αὐτῶν σοι νῦν χαρισάμενος, ἄλλον μὲν οὐδένα μισθὸν ἀπαιτεῖ σε τῆς συμμαχίας, μόνην δὲ τὴν πρῶτητα καὶ τὴν περὶ τοὺς ἁμαρτόντας μακροθυμίαν, ἐπαγγέλλεται δὲ
40 καὶ θαυμασίαν ἐπαγγελίαν, ἐὰν ἀφήτε, λέγων, ἀφήσω, καὶ ᾧ μέτρῳ μετρεῖτε, καὶ ὑμῖν ἀντιμετρηθήσεται.

Εἰ τοίνυν ὡς ἄνθρωπος ὀφείλεις τι καὶ αὐτός, ἄφες τούτοις τοῖς ὀφειλέταις, ἵνα μᾶλλον πείθῃς ἐν ταῖς εὐχαῖς, τὴν εἰς τοὺς παροξύνοντας ἄφεςιν καλὴν ἔχων πρόφασιν εἰς τὸ τυχεῖν τῶν ὁμοίων. ἄλλως τε καὶ
V f. 73r μείζω μεγαλοψυχίας ἀπόδειξιν οὐχ ἔξεις ἐν ἑτέρῳ δοῦναι καιρῷ, οὐδὲ τρόπαιον ἄλλο στήσεις λαμπρότερον ἢ τοὺς οὕτω λυπήσαντας ἀνεξικακία νῦν ἀμυνόμενος· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀντιπλήξαι τοὺς πλήξαντας καὶ κακῶς ἀντιποιῆσαι τοὺς προϋπάρξαντας ἠδὲ μὲν ἴσως, ἀλλ' ἄδοξον, ἐπεὶ καὶ κοινόν ἐστι τοῖς πάσιν ἀνθρώποις, οἷς ἀντιλυπήσεως ὄρεξις φυσικῶς
50 ἐνυπάρχει· τὸ δὲ τῆς κατὰ τῶν πταισάντων ἀνήκεστα δικαίας ὀργῆς μακροθυμία κρατῆσαι καὶ τὴν ἐμπαθῆ φύσιν ταύτην καὶ μικρόνυχον καὶ ὀλίγων εἰς τὴν ἀπαθῆ τε καὶ θείαν διὰ φιλοσοφίας ἀποβιάσασθαι, τοῦτο σπάνιον μὲν ἐν υἱοῖς ἀνθρώπων, σπανιώτατον δὲ διαφερόντως ἐν βασιλεῦσιν, οἷς ἡ ἐξουσία καὶ τὸ ἀνεύθυνον ἀπλήστως ἐμφορεῖσθαι παρέ-

28 Hom. II. 11, 514 || 36-37 ὃς - πόδας σου: cf. Hebr. 2,8; Eph. 1,22 || 40-41 ἐὰν - ἀντιμετρηθήσεται: cf. Matth. 6,14; 7,2 || 42-43 ἄφες - ὀφειλέταις: cf. Matth. 6,12

38 ἀπαιτῆσαι A || 44 ἄλλως: ἄλλην Lag

appetite upon those who have offended them or even worse upon those suspected without reason. That is unless one reflects during this confusion of mind on the greater and mightier King and, fearing Him as a greater judge, lays down his insolence and anger right away — reasoning correctly that he has not been put in this position «to slaughter sheep» but to rule over his fellow servants and that the common creator of all shall demand back the blood of each one of these from the hand which shed it — and be quickly brought to his senses and begin to think of compassion, on account of which He who loves the meek has magnified your kingdom exceedingly and glorified you for your great gentleness and mildness more than any previous Emperor. If you will stay free of anger now in this time of anger, or to the extent that as this is possible, you shall control your vengeance, if the former should not prevail, do, indeed, most merciful Lord, imitator of God, add this virtue to your many admirable virtues and reinforce your achievements with a work greater than any example; for if you will add this, you will not allow your natural goodness to suffer any change in this respect, for you are truly fortunate, enviable and blessed, since after this earthly kingdom you shall also receive the heavenly — if indeed the Scriptures tell the truth, promising such a trophy to the benevolent and righteous in heart like yourself.

But we are also fortunate that among other things, we are able in all truth to pride ourselves above all nations in having such an Emperor and Lord, who is far from being vindictive towards such wicked men and even more so toward the innocent. In this spirit we pray and beseech your serenity and our most holy mistresses and Empresses to perform such magnificent tasks and may the Holy Trinity, the indivisible and eternal, sustain you three united for many years to come, for the relief and consolation of the Christian people and for the permanence and union of the churches of God.

- 55 χει τῆς τιμωρίας κατὰ τῶν εἰς αὐτοὺς πλημμελούντων ἢ καὶ μάτην ὑπονοουμένων τὸ σχετλιώτατον, εἰ μὴ τις τὸν κρείττω βασιλέα καὶ δυνατώτερον ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ ταραχῷ τῆς ψυχῆς ἐννοήσας, καὶ ὡς μείζονα κριτὴν φοβηθεῖς, καταβάλλῃ τὸ φρύαγμα καὶ τὸν θυμὸν παραυτίκα, καὶ λογισμῷ
- V f. 73v δικαίῳ χρησάμενος ὡς οὐ *προβάτων σφαγῆς*, | ἀλλ' ὁμοδούλων ἀνθρώπων
- 60 ἄρχειν ἐτάχθη, ὧν ἐκάστου τὸ αἷμα ἐκ τῆς χειρὸς τοῦ ἐκχέοντος ὑπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ πλάστου πάντων ἐπιζητεῖται, συμφρονήσει ταχέως παρ' ἑαυτῷ, καὶ φιλοσοφήσει τὸ εὐσυμπάθητον, ἐφ' ᾧ τὴν σὴν βασιλείαν εἰς ὑπερβολὴν ἐθαυμάστωσεν ὁ τοὺς πραεῖς ἀγαπῶν, ἡμερότητι πολλῇ καὶ πραότητι παρὰ πάντας δοξάσας σε τοὺς πρὸ σοῦ βασιλεῖς. εἰ δὲ καὶ νῦν τὸ ἀόργητον ἐν ὀργῆς φυλάξεις καιρῷ ἢ καθ' ὅσον οἶόν τε μετριάσεις τὴν ἐπεξέλευσιν, εἰ μὴ τὸ πρῶτον κρατήσῃ· καὶ ναί, φιλανθρωπότατε δέσποτα, ναί, θεοῦ μιμητά, πρόσθεσ ἐτι καὶ τοῦτο τοῖς πολλοῖς θαυμασίοις σου· πρόσθεσ ἔργον τοῖς κατορθώμασι παραδείγματος κρείττον, ὡς εἴ γε προσθήσεις, καὶ τὴν φυσικὴν ἀγαθότητα μηδ' ἐνταῦθα παθεῖν τι πρὸς μεταβολὴν συγχωρήσεις, εὐτυχῆς ὄντως σὺ καὶ ζηλωτὸς καὶ μακάριος, ὅτι
- 70 μετὰ τὴν ἐν γῆ βασιλείαν ἀπολήψῃ καὶ τὴν οὐράνιον, εἴπερ ἀψευδεῖς αἱ γραφαί, τηλικούτον ἔπαθλον ὑπισχνούμεναι τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς καὶ εὐθέσι κατὰ σὲ τὴν καρδίαν.
- V f. 74r Εὐτυχοῦμεν | δὲ καὶ ἡμεῖς τὰ τε ἄλλα, καὶ ὅτι τοιοῦτῳ βασιλεῖ καὶ
- 75 δεσπότη πρὸς πάντα τὰ ἔθνη μετὰ παρρησίας ἔχομεν ἐναβρύνεσθαι, ὃς οὐδὲ τοῖς οὕτω πονηροτάτοις πικρὸς ἐστι, τοσοῦτον ἀποδέει τοῖς μὴ τοιοῦτοις. οὕτως οὖν ἡμεῖς ἀξιοῦμεν καὶ τοιαῦτα δεόμεθα μεγαλεῖα ποιεῖν τὴν τε σὴν γαληνότητα, καὶ τὰς ἀγιωτάτας δεσποίνας καὶ βασιλίσσας ἡμῶν, οὓς ἡ θεία τριάς, ἡ ἀδιαίρετος καὶ ἀΐδιος, ἀδιαίρετους ἐν πλείοσιν
- 80 ἐνιαυτοῖς συντηρήσοι εἰς ἀναψυχὴν καὶ παράκλησιν τοῦ χριστωνύμου λαοῦ καὶ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν τοῦ θεοῦ διαμονὴν τε καὶ σύστασιν.

My Lord, neither I, when I am provoking you, nor you, when you are being provoked, are doing or experiencing anything unusual. For we are human beings alike, susceptible to passions and we both carry human weakness within us although you are superior to us common folk, as much by the dignity of your office and the honour of your distinction as by the magnitude of your spirit and your other good qualities, whereas I would acknowledge in me nothing good. Because truly I acknowledge in me nothing at all, except perhaps for only one thing, the freedom of my opinion and if I bring myself to obey someone I do so because I have been so persuaded and not because I have been compelled. This has been my habitual attitude more or less «from childhood», an attitude which has grown stronger over the years, and which up to date remains unchanged. As I applied this principle even now in response to the propositions you made, I appeared rather stubborn to your magnificence. Do not think that the reason for this unyielding opposition was prompted by anything else but the fact that I do not suffer to be easily defeated by presumption. Observing such great presumption in the person who made false accusations at the expense of my reputation, I quite contentiously resolved not to give in. Acting in such a way may not have been praiseworthy or the proper thing for me to do, for indeed I know that to the present day I have not been involved in strife with any person at all, but nevertheless at that time, I reacted in a human way.

If, however, a desire for things belonging to others ever possessed me, either now or previously, or I had myself something similar in mind, or accepted the opinion of those who think along those lines or strove after their example, may I then be deprived of my lawful possessions, if I of all persons, who live free from wordly cares should have anything — and beg my daily bread from another's door as a wanderer and a servant. But why should I now maintain strongly and affirm facts to which my whole life bears witness? Such was not at all my attitude, but I came into conflict with him for the reasons I have already expounded. But my anger with you perhaps was not justified or reasonable, not because either I had been unmindful of my own limits or the magnitude of your virtue and the superiority of your eminence (never would I be so much out of my mind) — but perhaps it would be better not to maintain this view too strongly, since in another manner at that time your honour was partly ignored.

κζ'

Ούτε ἡμεῖς παροξύνοντες οὔτε σύ, κύριέ μου, παροξυνόμενος ξένον τι ποιούμεν ἢ πάσχομεν· ὁμοίως γὰρ ἄνθρωποι παθητοὶ καὶ ἀμφοτέροι τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην ἀσθένειαν ἐν ἑαυτοῖς περιφέροντες, κἄν αὐτὸς μὲν καθάπερ ἀξιώματος ὄγκῳ καὶ δόξης περιφανείᾳ, οὕτω καὶ μεγέθει φρονήματος καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις καλοῖς τῶν πολλῶν ἡμῶν ὑπερέχῃς, ἡμεῖς δὲ μηδὲν V f. 74v συγγινώσκωμεν ἑαυτοῖς ἀγαθόν· καὶ γὰρ ὡς ἀληθῶς | οὐδὲν συγγινώσκομεν, εἰ μήπου μόνον ἐκεῖνο, τὸ τῆς γνώμης ἐλεύθερον καὶ τὸ πειθοῖ τι μᾶλλον, ἀλλ' οὐ βία κάμπτεσθαι πρὸς εὐπειθειαν· τοῦτο γὰρ πῶς ἡμῖν ἐξ ἀπαλῶν δυνάμεων τὸ ἔθος συνηυξήθη καὶ συνετράφη, καὶ εἰσέτι νῦν ἀναλ- 10 λώϊωτον διατελεῖ παραμένον. ᾧ κἄνταῦθα χρῆσάμενοι πρὸς τὰ παρὰ σοῦ προτεινόμενα σκληρότεροί πῶς ἐδόξαμεν τῇ σῇ μεγαλοπρεπείᾳ· μηδὲ γὰρ ἄλλο τι τὸ αἴτιον οἴου τῆς ἀνευδότητος ταύτης ἐνστάσεως, ἀλλ' ὅτι προπετείας οὐ φέρομεν εὐκόλως ἠττώμενοι, ἦν πολλὴν ἐνιδόντες τῷ καταψευδομένῳ τῆς ἡμῶν ὑπολήψεως φιλονεικότερον ἔσχομεν καὶ αὐτοὶ 15 μὴ ἐνδοῦναι, οὐδ' οὕτω μὲν ἴσως ἐπαινετόν τι ποιούντες οὐδ' ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς πρέπον, οἳ γε πρὸς οὐδένα τῶν πάντων εἰς τὴν παροῦσαν ἡμέραν διενεχθέντες ἴσμεν ἐριστικῶς, ὅμως δὲ τι ἀνθρώπινον τῆνικαῦτα παθόντες.

Εἰ δὲ μέ τις ἔρωσ τῶν ἀλλοτριῶν κατέσχευεν εἴτε νῦν εἴτε πρότερον, ἢ αὐτὸς τι τοιοῦτον ἐπὶ νοῦν ἐβαλόμην ἢ τῶν οὕτως ἐχόντων τὴν γνώμην V f. 75r ἀπεδεξάμην ἢ τὸ ἔργον | ἐζήλωσα, ἀποπέσοιμι ἄρα καὶ τῶν δικαίως προσόντων, εἰ τι δὴ μοι καὶ πρόσσεστιν ἐν ἀπραγμοσύνῃ ζῶντι τοσαύτῃ, καὶ πλανήτης καὶ λάτρης τὸν ἐφήμερον ἄρτον παρ' ἀλλοτρίας θύρας αἰτήσαιμι. ἀλλὰ τί μοι νῦν περὶ τούτων διαβεβαιουῦσθαι καὶ ἰσχυρίζεσθαι, ἐφ' οἷς τὸν πάντα μου βίον ἔχω συμμαρτυροῦντα; οὐδὲν οὖν τοιοῦτον τὸ ἐμὸν 25 πρᾶγμα ἦν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον μὲν ἀντεπέσομεν δι' ἃ καὶ προείπομεν πρὸς δὲ σὲ τυχόν παρ' ἀξίαν καὶ τὸ εἶκος ἐτραχύνθημεν, οὐχ ὡς ἢ τὸ ἡμέτερον ἀγνοήσαντες μέτρον ἢ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς σῆς ἀρετῆς καὶ τὴν ὑπεροχὴν τῆς λαμπρότητος (μήποτε τοσοῦτον ἐκσταίημεν), μᾶλλον δ' ἄμεινον ἴσως περὶ τούτου μὴ διατεῖνασθαι, ἐπειδὴ τρόπον ἕτερον πρὸς 30 τὸν καιρὸν ἀπὸ μέρους καὶ ἠγνοήθη τὸ κατὰ σέ. ἀπ' ἀρχῆς γὰρ θαυμά-

27:3 τὴν - περιφέροντες; cf. II Cor. 4,10 || 5-6 ἡμεῖς - ἀγαθόν; cf. Synes. Ep. 130,10-11 (224 Garzya) || 9 CPG II 407 || 17 ὅμως - παθόντες; cf. Greg. Naz. Orat. XLIII, 28 (PG 36, 533 C)

27: V 74'-76' A 245'-247'

3 κἄν Lag: κἄν VA || 6 οὐδὲν scripsi: οὐδὲ VA Lag || 9 τῶν post ἀπαλῶν add. A || 26 οὐχ ὡς ἢ: οὐχ ὡσεὶ Lag

From the beginning I was accustomed to admiring your nobility of character. Having known you always as an excellent and moderate man in your dealings, when all of a sudden you attacked me violently and indicated to me that you were the *archon* and gave proof of your authority, I thought then that I was actually seeing someone else and not the one I knew, and being mistaken perhaps in this respect, I failed utterly to do the right thing. This was the cause, if you ask me, of my pettiness at that time, as you may call it. But I think I should call this the result of my zeal and my ardent friendship towards you. Because those who love exceedingly much have been ordained somehow by nature to feel the pain in their souls more strongly when they experience from those they love a contempt that they did not expect. Let this suffice, please, as an apology for my fault, said very much in truth, even if you do not easily accept the other explanation, judging it perhaps as too elaborate.

But despite the fact that you have suffered this undesirable incident, forgive me my weakness and grant me your pardon magnanimously, nobly and worthily of your good will, marvellous in every way, so that you too may be forgiven by Him who forgives the forgiving and confirm your love again to those who are not strangers to you. For they are not strangers, those who have been favoured by you until now I do not know how much and in what manner, and have always treated you with great and true affection. Only the true witness in heaven knows it, «He who tries the minds and searches the hearts». For His sake, forget my wrong-doing, even if I have failed you somewhat, and acknowledge again your own people and deign it worthy of yourself to resume your benevolent nature. It is terrible and unbearable when I think of the damage I may have caused, not only to such a man, who is, with good reason, considered by everyone most worthy of all for every kind of good, but to any ordinary person for as you know well, He does not suffer to see even one of the children scandalized, but that the scandal be annulled by every means before sunset. Listen then to these very words of the lawgiver himself and show yourself to me as you were in the past — let me see you again as you were formerly known to me and listen to your pleasant talk. But why are you not delivering me quickly from my sadness, if you are afraid of my exorcism? Why are you not curing my suffering? Look again upon me now with kindness. Say something friendly and intimate, even if we are not speaking «face to face, as one would talk to his friend», (because of my illness I am not allowed this now) but at least from afar

ζειν ἐθίσαντες τὴν σὴν καλοκάγαθίαν, καὶ αἰεὶ χρηστόν σε καὶ μέτριον ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων πειράσαντες, ὡς ἐξαίφνης σφοδρότερον ἡμῖν προσήνεχθης καὶ παρεσημήνω τὸν ἄρχοντα καὶ τὰ τῆς ἐξουσίας ὑπέφηνας,
 V f. 75v ἄλλον δὴ τινα ἴ βλέπειν ἐπ' ἀληθείας ἐδόξαμεν παρὰ τὸν ἡμῖν ἐγνωσμέ-
 35 νον, καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο τάχα σφαλέντες, τοῦ προσήκοντος διημάρτομεν. οὗτος, εἰ κελεύεις, ὁ λόγος τῆς ἡμετέρας τότε μικροψυχίας, ὡς αὐτὸς ἂν καλέσοις· ὡς δ' ἐγὼ φημι, ζήλου τὸ γενόμενον ἦν καὶ διαπύρου φίλτρου τοῦ περὶ σέ· πεφύκασι γάρ πως οἱ μεγάλα φιλοῦντες δριμυτέρας αἰσθάνεσθαι κατὰ ψυχὴν ἀλγηδόνας, ὅταν ἀπροσδόκητον ἴδωσι παρὰ τῶν φιλου-
 40 μένων ὑπεροψίαν. ἀπόχρη δέ μοι καὶ τοῦτο πρὸς ἀπολογίαὶν τοῦ πταίσματος, ἄγαν ἀληθῶς εἰρημένον, εἰ καὶ τὸν ἕτερον λόγον ἀπραγμόνως οὐ παραδέχη, κρίνων ἴσως περιέργον.

Σὺ δ' ὡς ἂν καὶ συνέβη τὸ ἀβούλητον σύμπτωμα, δὸς συγγνώμην τῇ ἀσθενείᾳ, καὶ ἄφες ἡμῖν μεγαλοψύχως τὸ ὄφλημα, ἄφες εὐγενῶς καὶ
 45 ἀξίως τῆς σῆς περὶ πάντα θαυμαστῆς ἀγαθοθελείας, ὡς ἂν ἀφεθεῖ καὶ σοὶ παρὰ τοῦ ἀφιέντος τοῖς ἀφιεῖσι, καὶ κύρωσαι πάλιν πρὸς τοὺς οὐκ
 V f. 76r ἀλλοτρίους ἀγάπη· οὐκ ἀλλότριοι γὰρ οἱ φιληθέντες ἢ μὲν ἄχρι νῦν οὐκ οἶδα πόσα καὶ πῶς, αἰεὶ δὲ πολλὰ σε καὶ γνησίως φιλήσαντες· ὁ ἐν οὐρανῷ πιστὸς μάρτυς, ὁ ἐτάζων καρδίας καὶ νεφροὺς ἐρευνῶν, δι' ὃν ἡμῖν χάρισαι
 50 κακῶν ἀμνηστίαν, εἴ τι καὶ παρεσφάλημεν· καὶ γνῶθι πάλιν τοὺς σοὺς, καὶ πρὸς τὴν σαυτοῦ φιλάγαθον φύσιν ἐπανελθεῖν καταξίωσον. δεινὸν γὰρ ἐμοὶ καὶ ἀφόρητον οὐχ ὅπως ἀνδρὸς τοσοῦτου ζημία, ὅστις τοῦ παντὸς πᾶσιν ἄξιός εἰκότως δοκεῖ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ τυχόντος, εὐ ἴσθι, διὰ τὸν μηδὲ τῶν μικρῶν τινα τούτων ἐπιτρέποντα σκανδαλίζειν ἢ προκατα-
 55 λύειν ἡλίου πᾶσι τρόποις τὸ σκάνδαλον. πρὸς αὐτοῦ τοίνυν τούτου τοῦ νομοθέτου ἄκουσον γνωρίμης φωνῆς καὶ δεῖξόν μοι σαυτὸν ὡς τὸ πρότερον· γνωστῶς ἴδω σε πάλιν καὶ γλυκειάς ἀκούσω προσλαλιάς παρὰ σοῦ. ἀλλὰ τί μὴ θᾶττον ἡμῖν τὴν σκυθρωπότητα λύεις, τὸν ἐξορκισμόν αἰδεσθεῖς; τί μὴ θεραπεύεις τὸ ἄλγημα; βλέπον ἤδη καὶ πάλιν πρὸς ἡμᾶς
 60 εὐγενές. φθέγγει φιλικόν τι καὶ σύνθηες, εἰ καὶ μὴ ἐνώπιος ἐνωπίω, ὡς εἰ
 V f. 76v τις λαλήσει πρὸς ἑαυτοῦ ἢ φίλον (τοῦτο γὰρ ἐγὼ τέως παρὰ τῆς ἀρρωστίας

45-46 ὡς ἀφιεῖσι: cf. Matth. 6,14 || 49 Ps. 7,10 || 53-54 διὰ - σκανδαλίζειν: cf. Marc. 9,42; Luc. 17,2 || 54-55 προκαταλύειν - σκάνδαλον: cf. Eph. 4,26 || 60-61 Exod. 33, 11

through a letter or a message. Give me a clear proof of your reconciliation and demonstrate in plain deeds the return to our former friendship so that in addition to your other virtues we may testify also to that of forbearance and that the words may be applied to you that «you are all fair and there is no flaw in you». In addition to this, fare well and may none of the accidents that always occur against our will detract from your inherent goodness and beauty.

28

To encourage you to perform some good deed, is neither out of place nor unfitting, for I am letting a race horse loose on the plain and sending a soaring «eagle up high to the clouds». I know that you are spontaneously inclined to such works, without being stirred up by any one and without external motivation. Consider, however, the suppliant who seeks your kindness as one of our household, I dare say, of our family, seeing that I am addressing an Italian and a friend of the Romans. As the one is eager to do good and the other to benefit, you have met each other at a good time. The Lord shall watch over the two of you and judge the strength of each, which of the two is superior and mightier — whether it is yours, the worker of good, so as to overcome and put an end to a suppliant's appeal in the way that a drink ends thirst, or rather his, because the enormity of his request proves to be greater than your power of beneficence and allows him to go away still in need and not yet satisfied. Therefore, let your entire attention be directed towards him, since the danger is so great — you can see that it is neither small nor slight— that in such important matters you may end up inferior to me, and that because you are contending about these matters with such an opponent.

But enough of your words of praise and wonderful applause for me, oh most excellent of all. You shall not convince me by ascribing to me nonexistent virtues, especially since the judgement has already gone against you for influencing the votes in my case by your good will towards me. For friendship adorned, as it is with many and various virtues and abounding in all respects in praises.

οὐκ ἐπιτρέπομαι), ἀλλά γε μακρόθεν δι' ἐπιστολῆς ἢ μηνύματος, καὶ δὸς τι σαφὲς τῆς ἀποκαταστάσεως γνώρισμα, καὶ τὴν εἰς τὸ πρῶτον ἐπάνοδον ἐναργεῖ παράστησον ἀποδείξει, ἵνα σου τοῖς ἄλλοις καλοῖς ἐπιμαρτυρη-
65 θῆ καὶ τὸ ἀνεξίκακον, καὶ ῥηθῆ καὶ πρὸς σὲ ὅτι καλὸς ὄλος εἶ, καὶ οὐκ ἔστι μῶμος ἐν σοί. τὸ δ' ἐπὶ τούτοις, ὑγίαινε, καὶ μηδὲν σε τῶν ἔξωθεν ἀεὶ συμπιπτόντων τῆς ἐμφύτου χρηστότητος καὶ καλλονῆς παρατρέποι.

28

κη' Ἄτοπον οὐδὲν οὐδ' ἀνοίκειον — ἵππον γὰρ ἐπαφήμι πεδίῳ τὸν δρομικὸν καὶ ἀετὸν εἰς νεφέλας ἀναπέμπω τὸν ὑπιδέτη — πρὸς εὐεργεσίαν σε παρορμῶν, ᾧ καὶ αὐτομάτην εἰς τοῦτο φερόμενην οἶδα τὴν γνώμην, κἄν μηδεὶς αὐτὴν ἔξωθεν ὑποκινῶν ἀνεγείρη. τὸν δὲ ταύτης δεόμενον τῆς
5 καθ' ἡμᾶς οἰκίας λογίζου, λέγω δὲ φαμιλίας, ἐπειδήπερ ὁ λόγος πρὸς Ἰταλικὸν τε καὶ φιλορώμαιον. σὺ μὲν οὖν εὖ ποιεῖν, οὗτος δὲ παθεῖν προθυμούμενος, ἀλλήλοις εἰς καλὸν συνηντήσατε· ἐπισκοπὴν δὲ ὁ κύριος ἀμφοτέρων ποιήσει καὶ κρινεῖ τὰς ἑκατέρων δυνάμεις, ποτέρα θατέρως ἐπικρατεστέρα καὶ κρείττων, εἴτε ἡ σὴ τοῦ ποιούντος, ὡς νικῆσαι καὶ
10 παῦσαι τὴν τοῦ πάσχοντος ἔφεσιν ὡςπερ δίψαν ποτόν, εἴτε μᾶλλον ἢ τούτου, ὡς τῆς σῆς πρὸς εὐποιῖαν ἰσχύος τῷ μεγέθει τῆς χρείας περιγενέσθαι, καὶ ἀπελθεῖν ἔτι χηρῶντα καὶ μήπω πεπληρωμένον. πρὸς αὐτὸν οὖν ὁ πᾶς ἀποτεινέσθω σκοπὸς σοι, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ὁ κίνδυνος (ὄρᾳς ὡς οὐ μικρὸς οὐδὲ φαῦλος, μήποτέ μοι τὸ ἔλαττον ἐπὶ τηλικούτοις ἐνέγκη)
15 τοσοῦτος, καὶ ταῦτα πρὸς τοσόνδε διαμιλλώμενος.

Τῶν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν δέ σοι λόγων, ὦ πάντων ἄριστε, καὶ τῶν θαυμαστῶν κρότων ἄλλις· οὐ γὰρ πείσεις προσάπτων τὰ μὴ προσόντα, ἄλλως τε καὶ ὅτι προεὶληπται κατὰ σοῦ τὰ τῆς κρίσεως ὡς εὐνοία δεκάζοντος τὰς ἐφ' ἡμῖν τάχα ψήφους, ἐπειδὴ παντοδαποῖς ἢ φιλία κοσμουμένη καλοῖς καὶ
20 πολλοῖς πανταχόθεν περικλυζομένη τοῖς ἐγκωμίοις, ἐν ἔχει τοῦτο μόνον

65-66 Cant. 4,7

62 ἀλλά γε: ἀλλ' ἄγε A

28: 1-2 ἵππον - δρομικόν: cf. CPG II 464 || 2 CPG II 95 || 18-19 ὡς - ψήφους: cf. Synes. Epist. 1,14 (4 Garzya)

28: V 76'-78' A 247'-249'
3 κἄν Lag: κἄν VA || 19 ὡραῖον marg VA

has this one and only disadvantage: when it comes to a judgement of friends it is viewed with suspicion and is not easily conceded as trustworthy, whether it be as witness or as judge. But right here is the most abominable aspect — that friendship is notably surpassed by enmity itself, being as much inferior to hatred in trustworthiness as hatred is inimpeachable in its testimonies, as is confirmed by the proverb. Perhaps it is no wonder that some wise men of the past dared to call friendship blind. Subsequent generations, it seems to me, having believed these men divine, debarred friendship from such institutions, on the basis of your own Roman constitution, which forbids the blind from access to the tribunal.

Therefore, spare me your praises lest one of the two happens — either you appear to praise what is unbelievable, or by trying to avoid this danger, you are carried off to some other worse evil, just like those who fall to the mythical Scylla because of their fear of Charybdis. You shall be compelled then to injure friendship, exactly because you treat it with too much honour, by openly denouncing it, in order to dispel any suspicions and appear to bring forth an impartial verdict — otherwise, it will be necessary to appeal the decision for being conducted neither with precision nor with correctness. So that neither of the two happens and so that you remain both a faithful friend and an impartial judge, become, please, more moderate in the praises of your friends. But may you at no time cease continually to gather praises for yourself from everyone, for this is also one of your virtues.

29

[To Ioannes]

Eager is my desire but infirmity makes me hesitant. Between both of these the blessed occasion of meeting you is a matter of contention, one pressing me to come to you immediately, the other hereafter and later. To justly arbitrate the battle and confer victory over the other to the mightier one is not a matter for your Ioannes, but for you, Ioannes. For there is no good deed which I believe you are not able to perform, since the spirit of power dwells in you and

- ἀτύχημα· ὑποπτός ἐστι τὰς κρίσεις τῶν φιλομένων, καὶ οὐκ εὐχερῶς
 V f. 77v αὐτῇ | συγχωρεῖται τὸ ἀξιόπιστον, κἂν μαρτυρῇ, κἂν δικάζῃ. ἀλλ' ἐνταῦ-
 θα τὸ σχετλιώτατον· καὶ παρὰ τῆς ἐχθρας αὐτῆς πλεονεκτεῖται περιφα-
 νῶς, τοσοῦτον ἐκείνης ὑστεροῦσα περὶ τὴν πίστιν ὅσον ἐν ταῖς μαρτυ-
 25 ρίαις ἐκείνη τὸ ἀπαράγραφτον ὑπὸ τῆς παροιμίας προσμαρτυρεῖται. καὶ
 θαυμαστὸν οὐδὲν ἴσως, ὅποτε καὶ τυφλὴν ἤδη ταύτην τῶν πάλαι σοφῶν
 τινες εἶπεν ἀπετόλμησαν. οἷς δοκῶ μοι τοὺς ὑστερον ὡς ἀνδράσι θεῖοις
 πιστεύσαντας τῶν τοιούτων αὐτὴν πολιτευμάτων ἀπειρῆσαι ἐκ τῶν καθ'
 ὕμᾶς τάχα δὴ Ῥωμαϊκῶν θεσπισμάτων, ἃ τὸ βῆμα τοῖς πηροῖς ἀποκλείει.
 30 Ὡστε φείδου μοι καὶ σὺ τῶν ἐπαίνων, ὡς μὴ τῶν δύο τὸ ἕτερον, ἢ
 ἀπίθανα δόξοις ἐγκωμιάζειν ἢ τοῦτο σπεύδων φυγεῖν εἰς ἄλλο τι χεῖρον
 ἀπενεχθείης κακόν, ὥσπερ οἱ τῇ Σκύλλῃ τῇ μυθικῇ περιπίπτοντες δέει τῷ
 πρὸς τὴν Χάρυβδι· ἀνάγκην γὰρ ἔξεις ἐκ τοῦ σφόδρα περιέπειν φιλιαν
 ζημιωθῆναι φιλιαν, ἀντικρυς αὐτὴν ἀρνησάμενος, ἵνα τὴν ὑπόνοιαν λύ-
 V f. 78r σης καὶ δόξης ἀδέκαστον ἐκφέρειν τὴν ψῆφον, | ἢ πάντως ἐφέσεως τῇ
 κρίσει δεήσει ὡς οὐκ ἀπταιστῶ παντάπασιν οὐδ' ὀρθῇ γενομένη. ὡς ἂν
 οὐν μηδέτερον τούτων, ἀλλὰ καὶ φίλος ἅμα πιστὸς καὶ δικαστῆς ἀνεπί-
 ληπτος διαμείνης, ἐγκρατέστερος γίνου μοι τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῶν φίλων ἐπαί-
 νους. σὺ δὲ τὰ παρὰ πάντων ἐγκώμια πρὸς ἑαυτὸν συλλέγων ἀδιαστίκτως,
 40 καὶ τοῦτο γὰρ ἐκ τῶν σῶν, ἐν μηδενὶ καιρῷ διαλίποις.

29

<Τῷ Ἰωάννῃ>

- κθ' Πρόθυμον ὁ πόθος· ὀκνηρὸν ἢ ἀσθένεια. ἀμφοτέροις οὖν περιμάχη-
 τος ὁ καιρὸς τῆς εὐτυχοῦς ἐντυχίας σου, τοῦ μὲν, παραχρῆμα, τῆς δ', ἐς
 αὐτίς καὶ ὑστερον προσελθεῖν σοι βιαζομένων. τὸ δὲ διαιτῆσαι προσηκόν-
 5 ντως τῇ μάχῃ καὶ δοῦναι τῷ κρείττονι τὸ κράτος κατὰ θατέρου οὐ τοῦ σοῦ
 Ἰωάννου, τοῦ Ἰωάννου δὲ σοῦ, ὃ πιστεύω μηδὲν ἀδυνατεῖν τῶν καλῶν.

24-25 τοσοῦτον - προσμαρτυρεῖται: fontem non inveni || 26-27 τυφλὴν - ἀπετόλμησαν: cf. Plat. Leg. V, 731E; CPG II 777 || 29 ἃ - ἀποκλείει: fontem non inveni || 32-33 ὥσπερ - Χάρυβδι: cf. CPG II 672

28 πιστεύσαντας A: πιστεύσαντες V Lag

29: V 78^r A 249^v

l titulum ex linea 6 supplevi

the grace of God the almighty is upon you. You shall deal successfully with the issue, then, on the one hand, by strengthening my infirmity with your prayers, and on the other, by giving me reassuring hope — that I can enjoy your presence both to the extent and in the manner that I yearn for, namely to the utmost degree and alone, just as it used to be during our intellectual encounters. Having granted this to me, you should watch the Homeric horse. Otherwise, there is no cause for a writ in your own style, but for the old proverb «on the morrow the weighty matters».

30

I suppose that our affairs shall soon meet with good luck and fortune, because the omen is auspicious and undeniably brings good news. Indeed, what could be better than seeing this newly appeared beautiful star, the Engonasin ascend next to you, next to my sun? He has already begun to cast his rays from above upon us, even though he is surpassed in splendor by the light of the sun, greater than human lights, I mean that of brotherly splendor, thereby suffering a noble defeat which I know well is more graceful than any victory, because this man loves his brother more than himself. On account of this event then I both rejoice and celebrate the happiness of your house, together with you, the golden pair of the wise and good brothers, for I believe that «friends share their possessions» like the proverb says and reason dictates and like a horse attached beside the regular pair I have tied myself to you two on the outside with unbreakable bonds of love. I pray furthermore that our success may be brought to a happy and appropriate completion, for this is also in accordance with your own philosophy — that one should look at the end of one's life and not to pronounce a successful man happy before his life is brought to an end. Although again some other saying might contradict this, which rightly calls a man here on earth already blessed who is wise in the way you are wise. You are and may you stay in both respects blessed to the end of life, I mean in spirit and

ὅτι πνεῦμα δυνάμεως ἐν σοὶ κατοικεῖ, καὶ χάρις θεοῦ τοῦ δυνατοῦ ἐπὶ σέ. κατορθώσεις δὲ τὸ ζητούμενον, τοῦτο μὲν δι' εὐχῆς τὸ ἀσθενὲς ἡμῖν ἐνισχύσας, τοῦτο δὲ καὶ βεβαίαν ὑπαιτίνας ἐλπίδα ὅτι σου τοσοῦτον V f. 78v ἀπολαύσω καὶ οὕτως ὅσον τε | καὶ ὅπως ὀρέγομαι, ἤγουν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον καὶ κατ' ἰδίαν, ὅπερ ἔθος ἀρχαῖον ταῖς λογικαῖς ἡμῶν συνουσίαις. ταῦτα δὲ χαρισάμενος, τὸν Ὀμηρικὸν ἵππον ὄρα· εἰ δ' οὖν, ἀλλὰ χώρα οὐ τῆ ἀγωγῆ κατὰ σέ, τῆ δὲ παλαιᾷ παροιμίᾳ ἐς αἴριον τὰ σπουδαῖα.

30

λ' Ἀγαθὴ που τάχα τοῖς πράγμασιν ἀπαντήσῃ μοῖρα καὶ τύχη, ἐπειδὴ χρηστὸν τὸ σημεῖον καὶ ἀναντιρρήτως εὐάγγελον· καὶ τί γὰρ ἂν χρηστότερον γένοιτο τοῦ τὸν καλὸν ἀστέρα τοῦτον ἰδεῖν, τὸν ἀρτιφανῆ, τὸν Ἐνγούνασι τῷ ἔμφῳ νῦν ἠλίφῳ παρανατέλλοντα, σοί, καὶ τὰς ἀκτῖνας ὑψόθεν 5 ἤδη καὶ αὐτὸν ἡμῖν ἐπιβάλλειν ἀρχόμενον, κἄν τῷ ἠλιακῷ τε καὶ μεῖζονι τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων φώτων φωτὶ τῆς ἀδελφικῆς λαμπρότητος ὑπερλάμπηται, καλὴν ἠττώμενος ἤτταν καὶ νίκης, εὐ οἶδα, πάσης χαριεστέραν, ὅτι καὶ φιλάδελφος μᾶλλον ἢ φίλαυτος ὁ ἀνὴρ. ἐπὶ τούτοις οὖν καὶ συνήδομαι καὶ συνεορτάζω τῇ χρυσῇ ξυνωρίδι τῶν σοφῶν τε καὶ καλῶν αὐταδέλ- V f. 79r φων, τὴν τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς οἰκίας εὐδαιμονίαν, | κοινὰ τε τὰ τῶν φίλων ἠγούμενος, ὡς ἦ τε παροιμία καὶ τὸ εἶκος, καὶ οἶονεῖ τινα παρήγορον ἔξωθεν δεσμοῖς ἀγάπης ἀλύτοις παραζευγνύς ἡμῖν ἑμαυτόν. ἐπεύχομαι δὲ τῇ καθ' ἡμᾶς εὐπραγίᾳ ταύτῃ καὶ τέλος εὐτυχὲς καὶ κατάλληλον, ἐπειδή- 15 παντελέσοι, μακαρίζειν τὸν εὐροοῦντα, κἄν τις ἕτερος πάλιν ἀντιφθέγγηται λόγος, ἐντεῦθεν ἤδη μακάριον εἰκότως καλῶν τὸν τὴν καθ' ἡμᾶς σοφίαν σοφόν, οἱ κατ' ἄμφω καὶ πρὸς ἀμφοτέρα, πνεῦμα λέγω καὶ σάρκα

29: 7 πνεῦμα δυνάμεως: cf. II Tim. 1,7 || 12 τὸν -ἵππον: Hom. II. 5, 222; CPG II 464 || 13 Plut. Mor. 619D

II κατ' ἰδίαν Lag: κατιδίαν V

30: 3-4 Ἐνγούνασι: cf. Arat. Phainomena 63-66 || 10 CPG I 106, 266; II 76, 180, 481 || 14-15 παντὸς -εὐροοῦντα: cf. Greg. Naz. Orat. XVI, 3 (PG 35, 937A)

30: V 78^v-79^r A 250^v
3-4 Ἐνγούνασι scripsi; ἐν γούνασι VA Lag || 5 κἄν Lag: κἄν VA || 14 χρήσιμον marg A

body, or if you prefer, in life and learning. Apart from this, I have no other token more familiar or more appropriate to contribute to you for the great joy occasioned by this event.

31

I believe that the deeds of your wisdom and authority are in every respect good and just; your decisions, judgments, orders, decrees and simply every act, judicial and rational, in accordance with which you have decided and acted also in the case of this poor man. Now I am pleading neither for a reversal nor for a counteraction, as you accuse me, of the case judged once and for all correctly by you. For indeed, I would be truly mad, if I were to attempt to change this well-taken decision. But I am pleading for a more clear interpretation, as I believe, of that excellent decision pronounced by you. Because some dispute has arisen between the contending parties, as to whom your decision has accorded the recovery of the expenses, for on this particular point the court's decision is not clearly defined. Although the issue has already been decided, it has once more been brought to such a point of difficulty that we request a precise interpretation from you. You who have set the whole case in order may also straighten up this detail, needing no other craftsman in this task than your own hands, which we know to be very experienced in restoring order in other cases as well. This much we beg you only and nothing more, reminding you at the same time of your own laws, which require of you - who are either the ministers and servants or, on the contrary, the rulers and magistrates of the laws — always to foster and treat the imperilled with respect as well as to show benevolence in the interpretation of disputed cases, because I observe that for the most part — by saying this I imply most of the other prudent judges — they accept your interpretation. For it is on account of you who are always law-abiding that the laws of the earth are considered kings. If disputed cases are resolved by others in the spirit of humanity, I suppose for you it is more appropriate, indeed, to manifest greater humanity than any other in your deliberations and to include much benevolence in your decisions, according to the proverb «may he who inflicted the wound also heal it», and again, «may he who first tightened

ἢ βίον καὶ λόγον, εἰ δοκεῖ τοῦτο μᾶλλον, ἐστὲ τε καὶ εἶητε διὰ τέλους μακάριοι· τούτου γὰρ οὐδὲν ἔχομεν συνεισενεγκεῖν ὑμῖν γνωριμώτερον
20 οὔτε πρεπωδέστερον σύμβολον τῆς ἐπὶ τῷ συμβάντι περιχαρείας.

31

λα' Πάντα μοι καλά τε καὶ δίκαια τὰ τῆς σῆς σοφίας καὶ δυναστείας, αἱ ἀποφάσεις, αἱ γνῶμαι, τὰ προστάγματα, τὰ ψηφίσματα, πᾶσα πράξις ἀπλῶς, δικαστικὴ τε καὶ λογικὴ, οἷς ἀκόλουθα δὴ που καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὸν
V f. 79v πένητα τοῦτον ἔγνωσταί σοι καὶ πέπρακται. τὸ δὲ νῦν πρεσβευόμενον
5 οὐκ ἀνατροπὴ τις οὐδ' ἐναντίωσις, ὡς αὐτὸς αἰτιά, τοῦ κριθέντος ἄπαξ ὀρθῶς (ἢ γὰρ ἂν τῷ ὄντι μαινοίμην, εἰ τὸ καλῶς οὕτω κείμενον κινεῖν πειραθείην), ἀλλ' ἐκδηλοτέρα σαφήνεια, ὡς ἑμαυτὸν ἐγὼ πείθω, τῆς προεξενηθείσης ἐκείνης σοι θαυμαστῆς ἀποφάσεως. ἀμφισβήτησις γάρ τις τοῖς ἀντικρινόμενοις ἐγένετο, ποτέρῳ μᾶλλον αὐτῶν ἢ τῶν δαπανημάτων
10 ἀνάληψις ἐξεχωρήθη παρὰ τῆς ψήφου, ἐπεὶ μηδὲν τι σαφὲς περὶ τούτου τοῦ μέρους ἐν αὐτῇ προσδιώρισται. εἰς τοῦτο τοιγαροῦν ἀπορίας ἐνεχθέντος αὐτοῦ πάλιν τοῦ τμηθέντος ἤδη ζητήματος, παρὰ τῆς σῆς ἀκριβείας ἀπαιτοῦμεν τὴν ἐρμηνείαν, ὡς ἂν ὁ τὸ ὅλον εὐθετήσας τῆς ὑποθέσεως καὶ τὸ μέρος ἅμα συνευθετήσας, καὶ μηδενὸς ἑτέρου τῆς πράξεως τεχνίτου ἐπὶ
15 τῇ σῇ δεήσει χειρὶ, ἣν καὶ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων γινώσκουμεν ὡς ἐμπειροτέραν διορθουμένην. τοσοῦτου δὲ μόνου καὶ οὐδενὸς δεόμεθα πλείονος, προ-
V f. 80r συπομιμνήσκοντες ἅμα καὶ τῶν νόμων τῶν σῶν, οἱ μετὰ τοῦ θάλαπιν ἀεὶ καὶ περιέπειν τὸ κινδυνεῦον ἔτι καὶ τὸ φιλάγαθον ἐν ταῖς ἐρμηνείαις τῶν ἀμφιβόλων ἀπαιτοῦσιν ὑμᾶς τοὺς εἴτε διακόνους ἐκείνων καὶ ὑπηρέτας
20 εἴτε τοῦναντίον ἡγεμόνας καὶ ἄρχοντας, ἐπεὶ πρὸς τὸ ὑμέτερον βούλημα ἀγομένους αὐτοὺς ὡς τὰ πολλὰ θεωρῶ, λέγω δὲ τοὺς πλείστους τῶν ἄλλων ἐννῶν δικαστῶν· σοῦ γὰρ ἕνεκα τοῦ πάντα νομίμου βασιλεῖς οἱ νόμοι τῆς γῆς. εἰ δὲ τὰ παρ' ἄλλοις ἀμφίβολα τέμνει φιλανθρωπία, ἢ που τῷ παντὶ δικαιότερον ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐν ταῖς κρίσεσι φιλανθρωπότατα πάντων
25 ἑαυτοὺς ἐξηγεῖσθαι καὶ πολὺ τὸ φιλάγαθον ἐγκαταμηνύναί ταῖς ἀποφάσεις, ἵνα κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν ὁ τιτρώσκων καὶ ἴψο το τὸ τραῦμα, κάκεινος

31: 26 ὁ - ἰψο: cf. CPG II 763; Karathanasis 34-35

31: V 79^v-80^r A 250^v-252^r

4 πέπρακται: πρέπρακται A || 7-8 προεξενηθείσης V supra lineam: προεξεχθείσης V || 22 ἐννῶν scripsi: ἐννοῶν VA Lag

the bonds, also loosen them». After granting this favour to us then, in accordance with the laws and your own character, which especially abounds in goodness, go on to accomplish all the rest unhindered in the manner you think best. I also pray that the honourable distinction you now possess may stay with you forever, for it is regarded by everyone as an object of trust and admiration. What do I mean by this? That you understand such matters and fear the Lord and exercise judgment and justice on the face of the earth.

32

The sick man is forced to seek a doctor, the one in danger <on a ship> a helmsman, and the oppressed a protector. Since «everyone who seeks finds», according to the divine Scripture, this oppressed person also found rather late his own protector and helper, to whom he flees for refuge running under the shelter of his wings, like a traveller exhausted by the stifling heat of summer who flees to the shadow of a great oak tree with its lofty foliage. This letter contributes this much to the need at hand: it guides the sufferer to the one who will take care of his affliction. In addition, it will clearly have the interests of both at heart; for the petitioner that he may appear miserable before the one capable of rescuing him by recounting his misfortune convincingly, and for the rescuer that he may not send the suppliant away equally pitiable, but that he may both assuage the grief of the distressed sufficiently and turn the dejection weighing upon him into joy. For this is both the promise of your throne and of your noble and excellent heart and character. May the grace of God and his mercy be with you and yours.

τὸν δεσμὸν λύοι πάλιν, ὁ δεσμῶν τὴν ἀρχὴν· τοῦτο τοίνυν ἔκ τε τῶν νόμων ἔκ τε τῆς σαυτοῦ φύσεως, ἢ χρηστότητι χαίρει διαφερόντως, χαρισάμενος ἡμῖν εἰς τὸ πρᾶγμα, τὰ γε ἄλλα κατὰ σαυτὸν πρὸς τὸ δοκοῦν ἀκάλυτος πέραιναι. ἐπεύχομαι δέ σοι μέχρι παντός | συμπαρμενεῖν τὸ νῦν αὔχημα παρὰ πάντων ὁμοίως πιστευόμενόν τε καὶ θαυμαζόμενον. ποῖον δὴ φημι τοῦτο; τὸ συνιεῖν σε τοιαῦτα καὶ φοβεῖσθαι τὸν κύριον καὶ ποιεῖν κρίμα καὶ δικαιοσύνην ἐν μέσῳ τῆς γῆς.

V f. 80v

32

λβ'

Τὸν ἱατρὸν μὲν ὁ κάμνων, ὁ δὲ κινδυνεύων τὸν κυβερνήτην, τὸν δὲ προστάτην ὁ τυραννούμενος ἀναγκαίως ἐπιζητεῖ· ἐπεὶ δὲ πᾶς ὁ ζητῶν εὐρίσκει κατὰ τὴν θεῖαν φωνήν, εὐρεῖν ὅψε ποτε καὶ οὗτος ὁ τυραννούμενος τὸν ἑαυτοῦ προστάτην καὶ βοηθόν, ἐφ' ὃν καταφεύγει καὶ οὐ τῶν πτερύγων ὑποτρέχει τὴν σκέπην ὡς δρυὸς ὑψικόμου καὶ μεγάλου σκιάν ὀδοιπόρος, τῷ πνίγει τοῦ θερείου θάλπους ἀπαγορεύων. ἡ γραφὴ δὲ τοσοῦτον συντελεῖ πρὸς τὴν χρείαν· ὁδηγὸς τῷ πάσχοντι γίνεται πρὸς τὸν τοῦ πάθους θεραπευτήν· τὰ δ' ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐκείνοις δῆλον ὅτι μελήσει, τῷ μὲν, ὅπως δόξοι τῷ δυναμένῳ σφῆξιν ἔλεεινός, τὴν ἑαυτοῦ συμφορὰν ἐκτραγωδήσας ἀξίως, τῷ δέ, ὡς μηκέτι τὸν ἰκέτην ἐκπέμψοι παραπλησίως οἰκτρόν, | ἀλλ' ἱκανῶς τε τὴν λύπην ἐκθεραπεύσοι τῷ δυσθυμοῦντι καὶ εἰς φαιδρότητα τρέψοι τὴν ἐπικειμένην κατήφειαν· τοῦτο γὰρ τὸ ἐπάγγελμα τοῦ τε θρόνου τοῦ σου καὶ τῆς εὐγενοῦς καὶ γενναίας ψυχῆς σου καὶ προαιρέσεως. ἡ χάρις τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὸ ἔλεος ἐπὶ σὲ καὶ τὰ σά.

V f. 81r

32 φοβεῖσθαι - κύριον: cf. Col. 3, 22 || 33 ποιεῖν - γῆς: cf. Ierem. 23, 5

28 αὐτοῦ A

32: 1 Τὸν - κυβερνήτην: cf. Nicol. Myst. Ep. 113,1 sqq. (398 Jenkins-Westerink) || 2-3 Matth. 7,8 || 4-5 τῶν - σκέπην: cf. Matth. 23,37 || 5 δρυὸς ὑψικόμου: cf. Hom. Od. 12, 357

32: V 80^v-81^r A 252^{r-v}
13-14 γενναίας-προαιρέσεως: γενναίας σου προαιρέσεως A

Behold, with how few drops of words my gold-flowing friend showed his envy towards me because of his wretched laziness. Yet for others he would not grow weary flooding entire seas, but for me he persisted in staying dry for as long as I hear that the Egyptian Nile is flooded with water. And these things in view of such an important business and before such great people and a man of his reputation. Indeed, I shall repeat again and again this reproach and this criticism and I shall not cease complaining, you should know that well, before I find recourse to a fist fight, that I may threaten you with something ordinary. In this manner, perhaps, I shall learn if there is also a heart deep within your good self.

As of now the discourse has been dispatched to you, as you ordered, disclaiming so to say my own tongue as unworthy, and imitating instead your grandiloquent language, which is accustomed to speak falsely in your exaggerated praises not only of others but of me too. So the discourse has been composed with the aim that it might appear in your writings as a part of your exaggerated statements made by you on my behalf. But by being very sparing in this respect the discourse shall be justly acquitted of any slander. Actually the payment, being in conception for such a long period, should have grown large during the long-lasting labour and the whole thing should have been born big. But since I fear for the mother lest she, weak as she is, miscarry, I entrust a lengthy response to a more opportune time; the rest I shall deliver myself, because of my concern for the one who is in labour. But if the mother is strong enough to give birth and to nourish a newborn, why do you not bring all of them to light fully grown, by purposely rousing in the pregnant both the faculties of nourishing and of giving birth?

Yet, this request may prove too much and on behalf of it I must add something more to my thanksgiving. What sort of thing is it that I have to add? May the good and bountiful giver fill you more and more with every blessing.

λγ' Ἴδε τίνος καὶ πόσης λόγου σταγόνος ὁ ἐμὸς ἐμοὶ Χρυσορρ<ρ>όας δι' ἄθλιον ἐφθόνησεν ὄκνον. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἂν ἀπέκαμεν ἄλλοις πελαγίζων ὄλας θαλάσσας, ἡμῖν δὲ ξηρὸς ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον διέμεινεν ἐφ' ὅσον ἀκούομεν τὸν Αἰγύπτιον Νεῖλον τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ποιεῖσθαι ἀνάβασιν. ἐπὶ τοσοῦτοις καὶ ταῦτα, καὶ πρὸς τοιοῦτους καὶ ὁ τοσοῦτος· ἀνακυκλήσω γὰρ πάλιν τὸν ὄνειδισμόν καὶ τὴν μέμψιν, καὶ οὐ πρὶν, εὖ ἴσθι, λήξω μεμψόμενος, πρὶν εἰς γρονθισμοὺς ἀποσκήψω, ἵνα τί σοι προσαπειλήσω καὶ τῶν συνήθων· ἴσως γὰρ οὕτω γνώσομαι, εἴ σου τοῖς καλοῖς τούτοις σπλάγγχοις καὶ καρδία τις ἔνεστι.

10 Τὰ δὲ νῦν ὡς ἐπέταξας, ἀπέσταλται τὸ σκεμμάτιον ἀπαξιούν μὲν
V f. 81v ὥσπερ τὴν ἡμετέραν, τὴν δὲ σὴν μεγαλόφωνον παραμιμούμενον γλῶσσι-
σαν, ἢ συνήθειαν ἔχει τῶν τε ἄλλων πολλάκις ἐν τοῖς ὑπὲρ ἀξίαν ἐπαίνοις
καὶ ἡμῶν οὐχ ἥκιστα καταψεύδεσθαι, τούτου δὴ στοχαζόμενον, ἵνα καὶ
αὐτὸ μέρος δόξη τῶν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς σου παραφθεγμάτων,
15 οὕτω συντέτακται. τῷ πεφεισμένως δ' ἔχειν κἂν τούτοις. πάσης οἶμαι
δικαίως διαβολῆς ἀπαλλάττεται. τὰ νομίματα δ' ἔδει. τοσοῦτον κυῖσκό-
μενα χρόνον, μέγεθός τε λαβεῖν ἐν ταῖς χρονίαις ὠδίσι, καὶ μεγάλα πάντα
τεχθῆναι. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὴν μητέρα πτοούμεθα μὴ ὡς ἀσθενῆς ἐξαμβλώση, τὰ
μὲν τοιαῦτα τῷ χρόνῳ θαρροῦντες, τὰ δ' οὐχὶ τοιαῦτα διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὴν
20 ὠδίνουσαν φειδῶ μαιευόμεθα. εἰ δ' ἐκείνη τὸ γόνιμον καὶ τρόφιμον ἔρ-
ρωται, τί μὴ πάντα προάξεις εἰς φῶς εὐμεγέθη, ἐπεγείρας τῇ κυοσῇ τὰ
τοιαῦτα προνοία σου, τὴν θρεπτικὴν τε ὁμοῦ καὶ ἀποκριτικὴν δύναμιν;
Πλὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῦτα πολὺ, καὶ προσθήκη σοι χάριτος ἀφ' ἡμῶν
ὑπὲρ τούτου. τίς οὖν αὕτη καὶ ποία; ὁ ἀγαθός σε καὶ μεγαλόδωρος ἐπὶ
25 πλέον ἔτι καὶ πλέον ἐμπλήσειε παντὸς ἀγαθοῦ.

33: 2-3 πελαγίζων - θαλάσσας: cf. Tzetz. Chil. 302, 6 sqq. || 4 Αἰγύπτιον Νεῖλον: cf. Proc. Gaz. Ep. 2,1 (3 Garzya-Loenertz); Tzetz. Chil. 300, 991; Tzetz. Ep. 65, 1-5 (93 Leone)

33. V 81^v A 252^v-253^v
I Χρυσορράας Lag: χρυσορόας VA

34

I no longer pity you on account of your departure, because your departure is not a separation from me who am always near you, but a separation rather from the great evils that are upon me and by which I am surrounded now from all sides and under which even life, dear to all, has become intolerable and hateful to me — for I am very disheartened and distressed with the present situation and expect the future to be even worse than what I am witnessing now. If some of these troubles reach you, do not consider them fire but rather as fire furnace-soot or vapours given off by the fire of our misfortunes that is burning here. Therefore, accept as preferable the lighter among evils and consider, as it is said, that which is not worse as better. In addition, may He who gives the greater things grant you strength of soul, strength of body and consolation from above, because consolation from down here has by now completely disappeared and there is no hope that it will come back to us. Perhaps, it may return to us later if the Lord works a miracle. Because, as it is said, «what is impossible with men is possible with God».

35

A new *protonotarios* comes to you. His kind is also concerned with taxation, inasmuch as taxes assume many forms just as the gods in the tragedies. But though this kind of business might be considered as such, yet this particular worker cannot be at all, since he has become a tax collector out of necessity, which, they say, not even God would oppose. Granting to this necessity a necessary forgiveness treat, therefore, this servant of necessity more humanely, allowing him some time to bite off something small, just as a tolerant rider allows his laden horse, or —to cite our Scripture— the way a magnanimous farmer allows his ox when it is threshing grain. Why should it be necessary all

34

V f. 82r λδ' | Οὐκέτι σε ταύτης τῆς ἀποδημίας οἰκτείρω· ὁ μακρυσμός γάρ ὁ σός
 οὐκ ἄφ' ἡμῶν μακρυσμός ἐστι τῶν ἐγγιζόντων αἰεὶ σοι, ἀλλὰ τῶν παρ'
 ἡμῖν μεγάλων κακῶν, οἷς ἡμεῖς κύκλωθεν νυνὶ συνεχόμεθα, καὶ ὑφ' ὧν
 ἀβιώτως καὶ πρὸς τὴν πᾶσι φίλην ζωὴν οὐκ εὐμενῶς ἔχομεν, ἐπὶ τοῖς
 5 παροῦσί τε λίαν ἀθυμοῦντες καὶ ὀδυνώμενοι, καὶ τὰ μέλλοντα χεῖρα
 προσδοκῶντες τῶν ὀρωμένων. εἰ δέ τινα φθάνει καὶ μέχρι σοῦ τῶν κακῶν,
 ἀλλὰ μὴ πῦρ σοι ταῦτα δοκεῖτω, ἀλλ' οἷον λεπτή τις καμινιαία αἰθάλη ἢ
 ἀτμοὶ τινες ἐντεῦθεν ἀναδιδόμενοι τοῦ παρ' ἡμῖν καιομένου τῶν συμφο-
 ρῶν τῶν τῆδε πυρός· ὥστε τὸ κουφότερον ἐν κακοῖς ὡς αἰρετώτερον
 10 δέχου, καὶ τὸ μὴ χεῖρον, ὅπερ ἀκούεις, βέλτιον νόμιζε. τὰ δ' ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ
 δοτὴρ τῶν κρειττόνων χαρίσασαί σοι ῥῶσιν ψυχῆς, ῥῶσιν σώματος, καὶ
 τὴν ἐξ ὕψους παράκλησιν, ἐπεὶ τὴν κάτωθεν ταύτην, ἐκλιποῦσαν ἤδη
 τελέως, ἐπανελεῖθιν ἡμῖν οὐκ ἐλπίζ. τάχα δ' ἂν ποτε ὕστερον καὶ αὐτὴ
 ἐπανεέλθοι, τοῦ κυρίου θαυματουργήσαντος· τὰ γὰρ παρὰ ἀνθρώποις ἀδύνα-
 15 τα, παρὰ τῷ θεῷ δυνατά φησιν.

35

V f. 82v λε' | Ἦκει σοι καὶ νέος πρωτονοτάριος. εἶδος δὲ καὶ τοῦτο τελωνικόν,
 ἐπειδήπερ πολλὰ τῶν τελωνίων μορφαὶ ὡς καὶ τῶν τραγικῶν δαιμονίων.
 πλὴν τὸ μὲν ἐπιτήδευμα τοιοῦτον δεδόχθω, ὁ ἐργάτης δὲ μηδαμῶς ὑπὸ
 γὰρ ἀνάγκης τελώνης, ἢ μηδὲ θεὸν φασὶ μάχεσθαι. συγγνώμην οὖν ταύτη
 5 καὶ αὐτὸς διδοὺς ἀναγκαίαν, φιλανθρωπότερον χρῶ τῷ λατρευτῇ τῆς
 ἀνάγκης, συγχωρῶν ἔστιν οὐ καὶ παραδακεῖν τι βραχύ, ὥσπερ ἵππον
 ἀχθοφοροῦντα ἐπιεικῆς ἐπιβάτης, ἢ (τὸ γραφικόν καὶ ἡμέτερον) ὡς βοῦν
 ἀλοῶντα γεωργὸς μεγαλόψυχος. τί γὰρ δεῖ πανταχοῦ τὸν χαλινὸν ἀνα-

34: 10 τὸ - βέλτιον: Strömberg 18 || 14-15 Luc. 18, 27

34: V 82' A 253^v-254^r

35: 2 πολλὰι-δαιμονίων: cf. Eur. Alc. 1159 || 4 ἢ - μάχεσθαι: cf. Simon. fr. 37, 29; CPG I 28; II 98 || 7-8 I Cor. 9,9; I Tim. 5,18

35: V 82' A 254^rv

the time to check the rein or to tighten the halter? These should be somewhat loose, so that they might be able willingly to eat a little surreptitiously and gratefully and not violently break their halter and against their will devour everything without restraint. Indeed, this situation is simply typical of those in necessity, about which you should show your concern or rather your care, by yielding in small matters so that you might be able with better reason to ward off greater ones. Administering then your office with such sagacity, be pleasing before God and men.

36

You were tried but you were helped. You were put to the test but you were not forsaken. You were abandoned but not completely. For the saviour was quick and the redeemer did not delay. The former were by way of insult, the latter by way of goodness; the former were the result of the turbulence and confusion of this life on earth, the latter of heavenly care and charity. Thanks then and praise to the God of the righteous, because he unexpectedly rescued His own righteous man, whom I hope He shall protect ever more. For indeed, «many are the afflictions of the righteous», as you hear it said, but it is also said that «the Lord delivers them out of them all». Now we see very clearly that this is fulfilled in you, and because of this we should be thankful and glad rather than grieved and discontented by those things by which we have been tried. The experience of being afflicted we share in common with many others, but to be redeemed happens to very few indeed. For there are many subjected to suffering but few pleasing to God and worthy of his help in such extreme dangers. Leaving aside therefore the grievous experiences of the past, let us revive ourselves as much as we can from the more pleasant, which we have already experienced by the grace of the saviour and expect through His charity to experience hereafter. Certainly, His bountiful mercy shall not desert those like yourself, who fear and love Him. For this very reason, may I behold you again, with my own eyes, you the joy of my eyes, forgetful of all the sad events that have befallen you.

κρούειν ἢ τὴν φορβειὰν ἐπισφιγγεῖν; δέον τι μετρίως ὑπανιέναι, ἵν' ἐκόν-
 10 τας ὀλίγα παρακλέπτωσιν εὐγνωμόνως, καὶ μὴ βία τοὺς δεσμοὺς ἀπορρή-
 ξαντες ἀκόντων ἀνέδην πάντα λαφύσσωσι. τοῦτο γὰρ τῆς ἀνάγκης ἀτε-
 χνῶς ἴδιον, ἦν αὐτὸς φιλοτιμίαν ποιήσεις, μᾶλλον δὲ πρόνοιαν, ἐνδιδοὺς
 τὰ μικρά, ὡς εὐλογώτερον ἔχοις τῶν μειζόνων ἀνείργειν. οὕτως οὖν τὴν
 ἀρχὴν οἰκονομῶν ἐν συνέσει, εὐαρέσται ἐναντίον θεοῦ καὶ ἀνθρώπων.

36

V f. 83r λς' | Ἐπειράσθης μὲν, ἀλλ' ἐβοηθήθης. ἐδοκιμάσθης, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐγκατε-
 λείφθης. παρεδόθης, ἀλλ' οὐκ εἰς τέλος. ὁ γὰρ σφύζων ἐτάχυνε καὶ ὁ
 λυτρούμενος οὐκ ἐμέλλησεν. ἐκεῖνα, τῆς ἐπηρείας· ταῦτα, τῆς ἀγαθότη-
 5 τος· ἐκεῖνα, τῆς κάτω περιφορᾶς καὶ συγχύσεως· ταῦτα, τῆς ἄνωθεν κη-
 δεμονίας καὶ χάριτος. χάρις οὖν καὶ τιμὴ τῷ τῶν δικαίων θεῷ, ὅτι παραδό-
 ξως ἐρρύσατο τὸν ἑαυτοῦ δίκαιον, εἰς ὃν ἐλπίζομεν ὅτι καὶ ἔτι ῥύσεται·
 πολλὰ γὰρ αἱ θλίψεις τῶν δικαίων, ὅπερ ἀκούεις, ἀλλ' ἐκ πασῶν αὐτῶν,
 φησί. ῥύσεται αὐτοὺς ὁ κύριος. ὁ δὲ νῦν ἐμφανῶς ἐπὶ σοῦ πεπληρωμένον
 10 ὀρῶμεν, ὑπὲρ οὗ καὶ μᾶλλον ἡμᾶς εὐχαριστεῖν προσήκει καὶ χαίρειν ἢ
 ἐφ' οἷς ἐπειράσθημεν ἀνιάσθαι καὶ δυσχεραίνειν· τὸ μὲν γὰρ κοινὸν ἡμῖν
 πρὸς πολλοὺς, τοῦ δὲ καὶ παντάπασιν ὀλίγοι τυγχάνουσιν· ἐπεὶ καὶ πολ-
 λοὶ μὲν ἀνθρώποι παθητοὶ, θεοφιλεῖς δὲ ὀλίγοι καὶ τῆς ἐκεῖθεν ἄξιοι
 βοηθείας ἐν ὀξέσιν οὕτω κινδύνοις. ἐκλαθόμενοι τοίνυν τῶν κατόπιν
 ἀνιαρῶν, τοῖς χρηστοτέροις εἰς δύναμιν ἑαυτοῦ ἀνακτώμεθα, ὧν τε πεπει-
 V f. 83v ράμεθα ἤδη διὰ τὸν σῶσαντα καὶ ὧν προσδοκῶμεν εἰς τὸ ἐξῆς πειραθῆ-
 σεσθαι διὰ τὴν ἐκείνου φιλανθρωπίαν· πάντως γὰρ οὐκ ἐκλείψει τὸ ἐκεί-
 νου πλοῦσιον ἔλεος ἐκ τῶν κατὰ σὲ φοβουμένων καὶ ἀγαπώντων αὐτόν.
 τοιγαροῦν γένοιτό μοι καὶ πάλιν αὐτοπεί σε θεάσασθαι, τὴν τῶν ἐμῶν
 ὀμμάτων τρυφήν, τῶν συμβάντων σοι πάντων σκυθρωπῶν ἐπιλελησμέ-
 20 νον.

12 ἦν - ποιήσεις: Anna Comnena II 70, 27-28; III 116,23; 120, 14; cf. N.G. Polites, Παροιμίαι II, 190

11 λαφύσσωσι A || 13 μικρά: μακρὰν A

36: 7-8 Ps. 33, 20

36: V 83^{r-v} A 254^v-255^v

What are you doing, oh marvellous one? You do an injustice to my beloved philosophy by depriving her of a possession most dear of all. Which possession am I talking about? I am talking about the simplicity which she makes as her special ornament in the manner that some others make the exact opposite, extravagance and luxury — a slight taste of which you, the most excellent one, began to give to my simple philosophy, as if you were trying thereby to change and wear her away from her moderate way of life. For what else could you have intended except to attract the unambitious to the love of honour by such ambitious acts? But since this was your decision, she accepts the present benefaction as from a friend and on account of friendship, but she declines any future one as being a burden which exceeds not only her accustomed way of life but her power as well. And so, therefore, spare me, oh most bountiful one, spare me your threat. For what has a horse in common with learning? It is like straw with wheat. For instead of any other kindness, it would suffice for me to always hear about your dear soul that which is dear to me — to hear that you are in good health and of good cheer, both of which are the first and greatest after the first and most important thing: I speak of your spiritual well-being, which I trust to abide with you more than anything else. But may the other two also abide with you, in order that for this reason our situation too may be better. As things now stand, I am in a sorry and grievous condition, afflicted by sickness in the body and even more so in the soul. However, my hope in God is more powerful than all my grievances; in Him I have put my trust and pray at the same time most earnestly that He not withhold His mercy from us, but rather that He, as our benefactor, fulfill whatever needs we might have and fully assuage your sorrows and mine. But for the present may I attain this state and may I hear the same about you, and with my eyes may I see you returning to us soon.

λζ' Οἷα δρᾶς, ὦ θαυμάσιε; ἀδικεῖς τὴν φίλην φιλοσοφίαν, ἀποστερῶν αὐτὴν κτήματος ἀπάντων προσφιλεστάτου. τίνος δὴ φημι τούτου; τῆς εὐτελείας, ἣν αὐτὴ κόσμον ἴδιον ἑαυτῆς ποιεῖται διαφερόντως, καθ' ἃ τινες ἄλλοι τοῦναντίον ἐκ διαμέτρου πολυτέλειαν καὶ ἀβρότητα· ἥς ὁ βέλτιστος σὺ παραγεύειν ἤρξω τὴν ἀφελῆ, ἐκδικαιῶν ὥσπερ ταύτη καὶ ἀπεθίζων τὸ μέτριον. καὶ τί γὰρ ἄλλ' ἢ τοῖς τοιούτοις φιλοτιμῆμασιν εἰς φιλοτιμίαν ἔλκων τὴν ἀφιλότιμον; ἐπεὶ τοῖνυν ἔδοξεν οὕτω, δέχεται μὲν τὸ παρὸν διὰ τὴν φιλίαν ὡς παρὰ φίλου, παραιτεῖται δὲ τὸ μέλλον ὡς φορτικὸν καὶ οὐ τὴν συνήθειαν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν δύναμιν αὐτῆς ὑπερβαῖνον. ὥστε φείδου, φιλοδωρότατε, φείδου μοι τῆς σῆς ἀπειλῆς· τί γὰρ τὰ ἄλογα πρὸς τοὺς λόγους; ὡς τὰ ἄχυρα πρὸς τὸν σῖτον· ἀρκεῖ γὰρ ἡμῖν ἀντὶ πάσης ἄλλης φιλοφροσύνης τὸ περὶ σοῦ τῆς φίλης ψυχῆς διὰ παντὸς ἀκούειν τὰ προσφιλεστάτα, ἅτινά ἐστιν ὑγεία καὶ εὐθυμία, τὰ πρῶτα καὶ μέγιστα μετὰ τὸ πρῶτον καὶ μέγα, τὴν εὐεξίαν λέγω τὴν ψυχικὴν, ἣν πάντων μάλιστα σοὶ πιστεύω προσεῖναι. τοιγαροῦν προσεῖη κάκεινα, ἵνα ταύτη γοῦν ἄμεινον καὶ τὰ ἡμέτερα ἔχοι. ὡς νῦν γε πονήρως καὶ χαλεπῶς διακαίμεθα, τό τε σῶμα νοσοῦντες καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν πολλῶ πλέον· ἢ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν δὲ ὅμως ἐλπίς ἰσχυροτέρα πάντων τῶν λυπηρῶν, ἐφ' ὃν πεποιθῶς εἴμι, καὶ ἅμα δι' εὐχῆς ὅτι μάλιστα συντεταμένης ποιούμαι, ὡς οὐκ ἀποστήσει τὸ ἔλεος αὐτοῦ ἀφ' ἡμῶν, ἀλλὰ καθ' ὅτι ἂν χρεῖαν ἔχωμεν ἀποπληρώσει ταύτην ὡς εὐεργέτης, καὶ ἱκανῶς τὰς τε σὰς καὶ τὰς ἡμετέρας ἀνίας παρακαλέσει. ἀλλὰ σε τοιοῦτον καὶ γε τοιοῦτοι πρὸς τὸ παρὸν τε ἀκούοιμεν, καὶ τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς μετ' ὀλίγον ἐπανήκοντα ἴδοιμεν.

37: 1-2 Οἷα - προσφιλεστάτου: cf. Bas. Ep. 4 (15, 1-2 Courtonne) || 2-3 τίνος - εὐτελείας: cf. Thuc. 2. 40 || II τὰ ἄχυρα - σῖτον: Jerem. 23,28; Strömberg 88

37: V 83^v-84^v A 255^v-256^v
18-19 πεποιθῶς: πεπονθῶς A

My Lord honoured by God, I think that your gift of praise to me is appropriate with your own dignity —for you both talk and write in a manner that is customary and befitting you— but to accept this credit is not appropriate for me. I am so absolutely undeserving of such praise that a twofold thought came to my mind on this matter. For as I went through the letter, I was suddenly thrown into confusion by what I was reading, for it did not make any sense, and it occurred to me that there might be an element of truth in the silly proverb, that love is blind as far as a loved one is concerned and that the love of friends has the power to bribe and corrupt the opinions of the judges. But I quickly got hold of myself, and on realizing the situation, I changed my mind to the contrary, having taken into account the impartiality of the speaker as well as his exactitude and truthfulness in all respects, and that he who has been most fair and dear to me could not have deceived me «to no purpose at all» attributing and ascribing qualities to me which I do not possess and that at any rate the truth of the matter must be so, since it is on his word. But when, thanks to good fortune, as it seems, I persuaded myself that this was true, I accepted his testimony as a decree from heaven; I seized the gift in both hands with great joy and regarded it as a good omen in my life. Yet one thought still troubles and disturbs me, lest so persuaded by these very extraordinary praises of yours, I shall no longer be restrained, nor shall I be able to contain myself, but may venture to fly up high in the air because of my fervour or vanity and compel myself to rise up boldly to the clouds since your magnificent words of praise have already given me wings, transforming me incredibly from what I am right now into an eagle. The sequence — what a disaster! bless me, how ridiculous! if someone hears or sees a new Ioannian sea, just as the ancients had an Icarian. Then who will forgive me for my folly and for my presumption, especially as I was not even able to supply myself with waxen wings and yet I dared soar high in the air above the clouds?

λη' Κατὰ σὲ μὲν οἶμαι τὸ δῶρον τῆς εἰς ἡμᾶς εὐφημίας, θεοτίμητε δέ-
 σποτα (τὰ γὰρ σοὶ συνήθη καὶ πρέποντα λέγεις ἅμα καὶ γράφεις), οὐ κατ'
 ἐμὲ δὲ τὸ λῆμμα, τὸν ἐπαίνου τοσοῦτου παντάπασιν ἀποδέοντα, ὥστε μοι
 διττός τις ἐνέσκηψε λογισμὸς ἐπ' αὐτῷ. ἐπελθὼν γὰρ τὸ γράμμα, διαταρά-
 5 χθην μὲν ἀθρόον πρὸς τὴν ἀνάγνωσιν, ἐπειδὴ τὴν ἐπίγνωσιν οὐκ εἶχε
 συνεζευγμένην, καὶ τὴν παροιμίαν τὴν φλύαρον εἰς νοῦν ἐβαλόμην μή-
 ποτέ τι λέγοι τῶν ἀληθῶν, ὡς ἄρα τυφλὸν ἔστι τὸ φιλοῦν περὶ τὸ φιλοῦ-
 μενον, καὶ ὅτι δεκάσαι καὶ παραφθεῖραι δεῖναι τὰς τῶν κρινόντων γνώμας
 αἰ εὖνοιαι. ταχὺ δ' ἐμαυτὸν ἀναλαβὼν καὶ συνεῖς τῆς ἐναντίας γέγονα
 10 γνώμης, τὸ ἀδέκαστόν τε τοῦ λέγοντος καὶ τὸ ἀκριβὲς περὶ πάντα καὶ
 φιλάληθες ὑπολογισάμενος, καὶ ὡς οὐκ ἂν ὁ τοσοῦτος, δικαιοτάτος τε
 καὶ φίλτατος ὑπάρχων ἐμοί, διὰ κενῆς ἐξηπάτα με, τὰ μὴ προσόντα τηνάλ-
 V f. 85r λως | προσπλάττων καὶ περιάπτων, ἀλλὰ πᾶσα πάντως ἀνάγκη τὸ ἀληθὲς
 οὕτως ἔχειν ἐκείνου λέγοντος. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὡς ἔοικεν ἀγαθῇ τινι τύχῃ ἐμαυτὸν
 15 ταῦτα πέπεικα, ὡς ἐξ οὐρανοῦ τινα ψῆφον ἐδεξάμην τὴν μαρτυρίαν καὶ
 ἀμφοτέραις τὸ δῶρον μεθ' ἡδονῆς ὄσης ἤρπασα, καὶ δεξιὸν ἐθέμην αὐτὸ
 τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ ζωῆς οἰωνόν. ἐν δ' ὅμως ἔτι θορυβεῖ με καὶ θράττει, μήποτε
 σου τοῖς ἄγαν ὑπερφύεσι τούτοις ἐπαίνοις ἀναπεισθεὶς οὐ καθεκτός ἔτι
 γένωμαι οὐδ' ἀνάσχωμαι μένειν ἐν ἐμαυτοῦ, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ θερμότητος ἴσως ἢ
 20 καὶ κουφότητος ἀναπτῆναι πρὸς ὕψος δι' ἀέρος ἐπιχειρήσω καὶ εἰς νεφέ-
 λας θρασύτερον ἀρθῆναι παραβιάσωμαι, ὡς ἤδη καὶ περὰ περιφύσας
 ὑπὸ τῶν σῶν λαμπρῶν λόγων, καὶ εἰς αἰτὸν παραδόξως ἐξ οὐπὲρ εἰμι
 νυνί, μετασκευασθεὶς. τὸ δ' ἐξῆς, ὃ τοῦ πτώματος, βαβαὶ καὶ τοῦ γέλω-
 25 τος, εἴ τις ἐκ καινῆς καὶ Ἰωάννειον πέλαγος, ὡς οἱ παλαιοὶ τὸ Ἰκάριον,
 ἀκούσει καὶ ὄψεται. εἶτα τίς ἡμῖν τῆς ἀνοίας ἢ τῆς προπετείας συγγνώσε-
 V f. 85v ται, οἱ μὴδ' ὅσον κηρίνων ἑαυτοῖς πτερῶν εὐπορήσαντες, | ὅμως ὑπερνέ-
 φελοι καὶ ἀέριοι παρεβαλόμεθα φέρεσθαι;

38: 7-8 τυφλόν-φιλούμενον: cf. 6-7 Plat. Leg. V, 731E; CPG II 777 || 8-9 δεκάσαι - εὖνοιαι: cf. Synes. Epist. 1,14 (4 Garzya) || 12 CPG II 157

38: V 84'-85' A 256'-258'

24 Ἰωάννειον: Ἰώνιον A post correcturam

But since I know quite well that your teacher has given to you, who are Apostles, such power in your words as to move even mountains and to be able to accomplish as much as he—for the moment I pass over even greater works than these—then even this attempt of mine is by no means completely hopeless, if I have succeeded in accomplishing something profitable. Because when the unnatural and the impossible were assumed by me as possible on account of your all powerful virtue—if indeed it is impossible for a pedestrian to walk in space and for one who does not fly to use wings—how can I not be exceedingly confident about the natural and the possible? I speak of the elevation of the soul from below, which by nature is most refined and light and is disposed to rise on high whence, it is said, it has its origin. On account of what you have said, I will certainly hope and unhesitatingly believe that my soul shall fare best altogether, since you, divine soul, not only supply me with wings by your praises, but also support me with your prayers.

39

«In the place of your fathers sons have been born unto you». Thus the divine scripture. However, mine, which is human, adds something of its own. What is the addition? It requires that you become, for the sake of the bearer of this letter, a ruler in the place of a ruler and a protector in the place of a protector. You who change provinces are wholly justified, since you succeed each other in office, in dispensing greater favour to those to whom the previous governors were particularly favorably disposed. In the manner then that this man became very familiar with the judge before you, he understandably seeks the same disposition from your honour. Above all, he requires it as a debt, for he has come to cash in the share of his former protection from you, because you received it by inheritance. But if you become obstinate about the payment, then he requests it as a gift. Whichever then of the two you wish, let him achieve his goal with your help. In any case, let him not return empty-handed to him who has sent him out. And for my sake may you obtain from Him, who is willing to offer and can offer the best, the fulfillment of your expectations and desires. But why do you not write me sometime, something brief?

Ἄλλ' ἐπεὶ περ, εὐ οἶδα, τοῖς ἀποστόλοις ὑμῖν οὕτως ἐνεργοῦς καὶ τοὺς λόγους ὁ ὑμέτερος διδάσκαλος ἔθετο, ὥστε καὶ ὄρη δι' αὐτῶν μεθίσταναι καὶ δύνασθαι τὸσαῦτα ὅσα κἀκεῖνος (ἐὼ γὰρ τέως τὸ καὶ μείζονα τούτων), οὐδὲ τοῦτο πάντως ἀνέλπιστον τελέως ἡμῖν, εἴπερ φέρον τι κέρδος παρ' ἡμῶν ἐσπουδάσθη. ὅταν δὲ τὸ παρὰ φύσιν καὶ τὸ ἀδύνατον δυνατὸν ἡμῖν ὑπετέθη διὰ τὴν πάντα δυνατὴν ἀρετὴν σου, εἴπερ ἀδύνατον ἀεροβατεῖν τὸ πεζὸν καὶ τὸ μὴ πτερωτὸν πτεροῖς χρῆσθαι, πῶς οὐ σφόδρα θαρρήσομεν περὶ τοῦ κατὰ φύσιν καὶ δυνατοῦ; τοῦτο δὲ φημι τὴν χαμόθεν ἔπαρσιν τῆς ψυχῆς, τῆς λεπτοτάτης φύσει καὶ κούφης καὶ ἄνω φέρεσθαι πεφυκυίας ὄθεν, ὡς λόγος, καὶ τὴν ἑαυτῆς ἔχει γένεσιν. τοῦτο τοιγαροῦν βεβαίως ἐλπίζομεν διὰ τὸν λόγον ὃν εἴρηκας, καὶ ἀδιστακτικῶς πιστεῦσομεν, ὡς ἄμεινον πάντως τὰ κατὰ ψυχὴν ἡμῖν ἔξει, σοῦ τῆς θείας ψυχῆς οὐ τοῖς ἐπαίνοις μόνον πτεροῦντος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῖς εὐχαῖς ἡμᾶς ἐνισχύοντος.

39

V f. 86r λθ' | Ἄντι τῶν πατέρων σου ἐγεννήθησαν υἱοὶ σοι. τοῦτο μὲν ἡ θεία γραφή, ἡ ἀνθρωπίνη δ' αὕτη καὶ ἡμετέρα καὶ παρ' ἑαυτῆς τι προστίθησιν. ἀλλὰ τίς ἢ προσθήκη; ἀντι ἄρχοντος ἄρχοντα καὶ προστάτην ἀντι προστάτου τῷ ἑαυτῆς διακόνῳ δεῖται γενέσθαι σε. δίκαιοι δὲ πάντως ὑμεῖς οἱ τὰς 5 ἐπαρχίας ἀμείβοντες, ἐπειδὴ παρ' ἀλλήλων τὴν ἀρχὴν διαδέχεσθε, ἐκεῖνοις τι νέμειν πλέον εἰς εὐνοίαν οἷς εὐνοϊκώτερον εἶχον οἱ ταύτην προδιοικήσαντες· ὥσπερ οὖν καὶ οὗτος ὁ ἀνθρώπος οἰκειότατός τε κατέστη τῷ πρὸ σοῦ δικαστῆ, καὶ παρὰ τῆς σῆς τιμιότητος τὴν ὁμοίαν διάθεσιν εἰκότως ἐπιζητεῖ· μάλιστα μὲν ὡς ὀφειλὴν ἀπαιτῶν, ἐπεὶ τὸ κληρονομη- 10 θὲν ὑπὸ σοῦ τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν ῥοπῆς μέρος εἰσπραττόμενος πάρεστιν. εἰ δὲ σκληρύνῃ πρὸς τὴν ἀπόδοσιν, ὡς δωρεὰν γοῦν αἰτεῖ. ὁποτέρως οὖν βούλει, τυχέτω παρὰ σοὶ τοῦ σκοποῦ· πάντως δὲ μὴ κενὸς ἐπανελθέτω παρὰ τὸν πέμπαντα. τύχοις δὲ μοι καὶ σὺ τῶν κατ' ἐλπίδα καὶ τῶν κατ' ἔφεσιν παρὰ τοῦ τὰ μείζω δίδοναι βουλομένου καὶ δυναμένου. ἀλλὰ τί μὴ γρά- V f. 86v φεις ἡμῖν | ποτε καὶ αὐτός τι βραχύ;

29-31 ὄρη - τούτων: cf. Matth. 21, 21; Ioann. 14, 12 || 37 ὄθεν - γένεσιν: fontem non inveni

39: 1 Ps. 44,17

39: V 86^r A 258^r

I σοι: σου A

40

Overlooking letters from kinsmen and from those in power and having despised every other kind of help, the applicant has had recourse only to this brief letter at hand, hoping perhaps to obtain something more from it than from other means, for he knows that you value friendship more than authority or rather both, and with good reason, as it is proper for a wise person that knows how to employ them both at the right time. Behold then, friendship is endangered in your presence, because she has given offence in a way that she should not have, the suppliant being a friend. Naturally, the task shall be easily accomplished, for it is undertaken by friendship before an excellent and benevolent man. Placing in him her full confidence, she was content regarding this request to limit such a short letter to only a few lines, as you see, which has, however, great power to convince, if I have not believed in vain, in the image of the mustard seed, which although very small, yet, can accomplish a lot, being a perfect imitation of the kingdom of God. Comply, therefore, with the request and for my sake rescue, please, this man in need. Indeed, what could be more necessary for him than not to fail to obtain your goodwill? And may he, who bestows his salvation to all, not cease to preserve you from difficulties.

41

We know, excellency, that authority <eksousia> is declined like the word property <ousia> not simply as a part of speech and in its one meaning, but even more so in another sense: that is authority is made milder by the property of the man who is in danger and the gifts which come from it. Therefore, supply the deficit from what is left over on the date set by the authority <eksousia> to which you pay taxes and give a share of the property <ousia> to the secular power <dynasteia>. In this manner, you shall somehow manage skillfully to make the authority submit to you, however angered it may be, having easily tamed its violent temper by paying service to its desires, just as a sore liver is soothed with a scratch of the belly.

40

μ' Καὶ συγγενικῶν συλλαβῶν καὶ τῶν ἐκ δυναστείας ὑπεριδῶν καὶ πᾶσαν ἑτέραν περιφρονήσας βοήθειαν πρὸς μόνον τὸ παρὸν ἐπιστόλιον ὁ παρεστῶς κατέφυγεν οὗτος, τάχα δὴ τι πλεον ἐντεῦθεν ἢ ἐκεῖθεν ἐλπίσας, ἐπειδὴ καὶ φιλίᾳ σε πλεον νέμοντα οἶδεν ἢ ἐξουσία, μᾶλλον δὲ σὺν λόγῳ
5 καὶ ἀμφοτέροις ὡς εἰκὸς τὸν οὕτω σοφὸν ἐπὶ καιροῦ χρώμενον. ἐνταῦθα τοίνυν φιλία τὸ παρὰ σοὶ κινδυνεῦον, ἐπειδὴ τι προσκέκρουκεν, ὡς μὴ ᾤφειλε, φίλος ὢν ὁ ἰκέτης· ἦν εἰκὸς κατορθῶσαι τὸν ἀγῶνα σὺν εὐχερείᾳ ὑπ' ἀνδρὶ καλλίστῳ καὶ φιλαγάθῳ μετερχομένην αὐτόν· ᾧ καὶ πάνυ θαρροῦσα τοσῶδε τεμαχίῳ πρὸς τὴν πρεσβείαν ἠρκέσθη, ὀλιγοστίχῳ μὲν ὡς
10 ὄρᾳς, πλείστην δὲ ὅμως, εἰ μὴ μάτην πεπίστευκα, πρὸς τὸ πείσαι δύναμιν ἔχοντι κατὰ τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ νάπυος, ὁ σμικρότατον ὄν, ἄλλως τε μέγα δύναται καὶ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ βασιλείας ἀκριβὲς ἐστὶ μίμημα. πείθου τοίνυν καὶ σῶζε μοι τῆς ἀνάγκης τὸν ἄνθρωπον· τί γὰρ ἀναγκαιότερον τοῦτ' οὗ
V f. 87r μὴ τῆς σῆς εὐνοίας διαπεσεῖν; καὶ σὲ | δὲ ὁ πᾶσι τὴν σωτηρίαν βραβεύων
15 μὴ διαλίποι σῶζων ἐξ ἀναγκῶν.

41

μα' Ἐξουσίαν, ὃ βέλτιστε, ἐξ οὐσίας οἶδαμεν κλινομένην, οὐχ οὕτω μόνον ἀπλῶς καθ' ἓν μέρος λόγου καὶ καθ' ἓν σημαίνόμενον, ἀλλὰ πολὺ τι πλεον καὶ κατὰ ἕτερον, ἤγουν ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ κινδυνεύοντος καὶ τῶν ἐκεῖθεν δώρων ἡμερουμένην. οὐκοῦν τῇ προθέσει τῆς ὑφ' ἣ τελεῖς ἐξουσίας ἀναπλήρου τὸ λείπον ἐκ τοῦ λοιποῦ καὶ τῆς οὐσίας ἐκ μέρους μεταδίδου τῇ δυναστείᾳ· οὕτω γὰρ πως εὐτέχνως ὑποκλινεῖς αὐτὴν σεαυτῷ, κἂν εἰ καὶ πολλὰ χαλεπαῖνοι, τῇ τοῦ ἐπιθυμητικοῦ θεραπείᾳ ῥᾶστα τιθασεύσας τὸ θυμικόν, ὥσπερ ὑπουλον ἤπαρ ἀμυχαῖς ὑπογαστρίου παραμυθούμενον.

40: 11-12: νάπυος - μίμημα: cf. Matth. 13,31

40: V 86^v-87^r A 258^v-259^r
13 τὸν ἄνθρωπον ante τῆς ἀνάγκης traiecit A

41: 7 εἰ - χαλεπαῖνοι: cf. Hom. Od. 5, 485

41: V 87^r A 259^v
I ἐξ οὐσίας scripsi: ἐξουσίας VA Lag || 7 κἂν Lag: κἂν VA

42

Your Lacedaemonian speaks few words but speaks to you with a very clear voice. Indeed, I am convinced of it, seeing that I have such a well-disposed listener in you. How could this not be so? I have honoured you in a worthy manner above all others on earth. So please remain for me and for those who care <about you> a man of such fine quality, and do not any longer criticize brevity of speech. As you know, I am not «a man of lengthy speech», just as I am not open-handed. For I deem it more appropriate for a modest person to send modest gifts and write modest letters and for a humble person to send humble gifts and humble letters, so that the matter may be from every aspect in agreement with itself and the whole be in harmony with its corresponding parts. This letter bears witness to the character of your friend, since he does not hesitate now to discuss such trivial things in both respects even with you who are equally great in talking and giving.

43

For a very long time I was thirsting to learn something pleasant about you, but then your letter carrier appeared, satiating me and making my ears ring continually with his many praises of you; he did not cease, rest, finish or keep quiet until he was sent away by me, having been supplied with these few words at hand, by which I am extending my gratitude to you for the good will already shown to him and exhorting you to even warmer and greater favours. I testify that he is indeed worthy of your favours, because he knows how to repay those who benefit him, with blessings and praises. But give him, please, abundant help of all kinds, particularly in the matters in which he needs it most and on account of which, despite his age he underwent in winter time the trouble of being dispatched to us and become in all respects worthy of your name and lineage. That is to say, you should not neglect anything praiseworthy without imitating it, and may I see or for the present hear that you have been deemed worthy of being distinguished with the highest of honours. Because I am actually leaving your Queen City to you, having undergone an unexpected change of life in a manner known clearly only by the wise steward of our affairs.

42

μβ' Παῦρα μὲν ὁ Λάκων ὁ σός, ἀλλὰ σοὶ γε μάλα λιγέως· πείθομαι γάρ, οὕτως εἴνου σου τυγχάνων ἀκροατοῦ. πῶς δὲ οὐκ ἔμελλον, ὅς σε πάντων ἀξίως τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς προετίμησα; τοιγαροῦν σφύζοιό μοι καὶ πᾶσιν οἷς μέλει τηλικούτου καλοῦ καὶ μηκέτι προφέροις τὴν βραχυλογίαν ὡς μέμψιν, V f. 87v ἐπεὶ οὐ πολὺμυθος ἐγώ τις, ὡς οἴσθα, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ πολὺδωρος, | οἰκειότερον κρίνων, μικρὰ τὸν μικρὸν καὶ τὸν ὀλίγον ὀλίγα καὶ στέλλειν καὶ ἐπιστέλλειν, ἔν' ἢ πάντοθεν σύμφωνον τὸ πρᾶγμα πρὸς ἑαυτό, καὶ τὸ ὄλον τοῖς μέρεσιν ἐμπρέπη δι' ὁμοιότητα. μαρτυρεῖ σοὶ γοῦν τὰ παρόντα τὸ ἦθος τοῦ φίλου, ὁπότεν οὐκ ᾄκνησεν οὐδὲ πρὸς σὲ νῦν τοιαῦτα κατ' 10 ἄμφω μικρολογεῖσθαι, τὸν ὁμοίως καὶ λέγειν καὶ δωρεῖσθαι πολύν.

43

μγ' Πάνυ πάλαι διψῶντί μοι περὶ σοῦ μαθεῖν τι χρηστὸν προσκορῆς τις ἔδοξεν ὕστερον ὁ τῆς γραφῆς κομιστῆς ταῖς ὑπὲρ σοῦ πολλαῖς εὐφημίαις τὰς ἐμὰς συνεχῶς περιηχῶν ἀκοάς, καὶ οὐκ ἀνιείς, οὐ παυόμενος, οὐ λήγων, οὐ σιωπῶν, ἕως παρ' ἡμῶν ἀπεπέμφθη ταῖς παρούσαις ὀλίγαις 5 ἐφοδιασθεῖς συλλαβαῖς χάριν μὲν σοὶ νεμούσαις τῆς ἡδῆ περὶ τοῦτον εὐνοίας, διανιστάσαις δὲ σε πρὸς ἔτι θερμότεραν καὶ πλείονα. μαρτυρῶ γὰρ ὡς ἄξιός ἐστι χαρίζη τὰς δωρεάς, ὅσγε τοσαύταις οἶδεν ἀμείβεσθαι τοὺς εὐποιούντας αὐτὸν εὐλο<γι>στίαις καὶ εὐλογίαις. ἀλλὰ μοι καὶ τοῦτον V f. 88r ἀφθονώτερον ἔμπλησον παντοῖα δαπῆς ὠφελείας, ἐφ' οἷς χρῆζει μάλιστα, 10 καὶ δι' ἃ παρ' ἡλικίαν χειμῶνος τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ὑπέμεινε στείλασθαι, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις δὲ πᾶσιν ἄξιός γίνου σεαυτοῦ καὶ τοῦ γένους. ὅπερ ἴσον εἶπειν, ὅτι μηδὲν ἀξιεπαινον ἀπολίπης ἀζήλωτον, καὶ σε τοῖς πρώτοις τῶν ἀξιωματῶν ἐμπρέποντα, ὡς καὶ ἄξιον, ἴδοιμι ἢ ἀκούσαιμι τέως· ἡδη γὰρ ἀπολείπω σοὶ τὴν σὴν βασιλίδα, εἰς ἀνέλπιστον βίου μεταβολῆν 15 ἐκπεσῶν, τρόπον ὃν σαφῶς οἶδε μόνος ὁ σοφὸς οἰκονόμος τῶν ἡμετέρων.

42: 1 Παῦρα - λιγέως: cf. Hom. II. 3, 214 || 5 Hom. II. 3, 214

42: V 87^v A 259^v-260^r

43: V 87^v-88^r A 260^v

8 εὐλογιστίαις scripsi: εὐλοστίαις VA Lag

44

The thunder perhaps forebodes no good news to you, according to those who assiduously study such signs. As for me it now seems rather unnecessary to pay attention to such omens. Indeed, if ever one should believe in them, he should only then believe, I think, when the thunder brings no other result. But right now, when there are so many rain storms, as you see, pouring down on me, it seems that this is not the proper time to seek for any other conclusion. By now that which had to happen has happened and is still happening. After the thunders rainstorms have broken upon me. Yet may the benevolent providence bring everything else to an auspicious end and may nothing unexpected and grievous distress us, whether or not we have been disturbed by the thunders.

45

The fear which I feared has come upon me, because the ordination is already at hand and the episcopal throne, the annoyance and the things to do, than which, as you shall testify yourself, throughout my whole life nothing has been more dreadful to me or more abominable and more to be avoided. But since it thus pleased either the providence which is over all or —I do not know how to say it— thanks are due to him who has thus arranged matters, thanks to him even for things that I did not wish. Now more than any other time I have the greatest need of your prayers in order to strengthen and support my weakness; I do not know which weakness I shall call greater, whether the spiritual, which is of special concern or that of my wretched body since both are equally weak and altogether useless. However, I have heard that the prayer of the righteous has great power, may I, therefore, receive some timely strength from your prayers. As for the very matter and how and why it happened, you shall learn it quickly by word of mouth, unless it has already reached you, as I can imagine, the rumours having spread by now almost throughout the inhabited world. But do write me as soon as possible regarding this matter and pray for me, rather do not cease to be generous with your prayers, if you care even a little about my situation here.

44

μδ' Οὐκ εὐάγγελα μὲν τῶν βροντῶν ὑμῖν ἴσως ὄσον ἐπὶ τοῖς ταῦτα φιλο-
πόνως σημειουμένοις. ἔμοιγε μέντοι περιττὸν νῦν δοκεῖ τὸ τοῖς τοιούτοις
προσέχειν· εἰ γὰρ δεῖ ποτε πιστεύειν αὐτοῖς, τότε πιστευτέον, ὡς οἶμαι,
ὅτε μηδὲν ἄλλο φέρουσιν αἱ βρονταὶ ἀποτέλεσμα. νυνὶ δὲ τοσοῦτων, ὡς
5 ὄρας, ὄμβρων ἄνωθεν ἐπικλυζόντων ἡμᾶς, οὐ δοκεῖ καιρὸν ἔχειν τούτου
πλέον τι ζητεῖν εἰς ἀπόβασιν· ἤδη γὰρ ὅπερ ἔδει, γέγονέ τε καὶ γίνεται·
βροχαὶ γὰρ ἡμῖν μετὰ βροντὰς ἐπερράγησαν. πλὴν ἄλλ' αἴσια καὶ τάλλα
V f. 88v γε πάντα | παρὰ τῆς φιλανθρώπου προνοίας ἀπαντήσοι τοῖς πράγμασι,
καὶ θορυβουμένους ὁμοίως καὶ μὴ μηδὲν ἡμᾶς ἀνιάσοι τῶν ἀθήων καὶ
10 λυπηρῶν.

45

με' Ἦκει μοι φόβος, ὃν ἐφοβούμην· χειροθεσία γὰρ ἤδη καὶ θρόνος καὶ
ὀχλήσεις καὶ πράγματα, ὧν οὐδὲν ἔμοι φοβερώτερον, ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς μαρ-
τυρήσεις, οὐδὲ διὰ βίου παντὸς ἀπευκτότερον καὶ φευκτότερον. ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ
οὕτως ἤρρεσεν, εἴτε τῇ προνοίᾳ τῶν ὄλων, εἴτ' — οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως εἶπω,
5 χάρις μὲν τῷ οὕτως οἰκονομήσαντι, ἥτις αὐτῷ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀβουλήτοις
ὀφείλεται, χρεια δὲ πολλὴ καὶ μεγάλη νῦν εἶπερ ποτὲ ἄλλοτε τῶν σῶν
προσευχῶν, εἰς τὸ καταρτίσαι δηλαδὴ καὶ στηρίξει τὴν καθ' ἡμᾶς ἀτο-
νίαν, οὐκ οἶδα ποτέραν πλείονα φήσω, εἴτε τὴν ψυχικὴν, ἧς καὶ μάλιστα
λόγος, εἴτε τὴν τοῦ μοχθηροῦ τούτου σώματος· ἀμφοτέροις γὰρ ἴσον τὸ
10 πάντῃ παρειμένον καὶ ἄχρηστον. ὁμως (καὶ γὰρ τὴν τοῦ δικαίου εὐχὴν
πολλὰ ἰσχύειν ἠκούσαμεν) γένοιτό τις εὐκαιρῶς καὶ ἡμῖν ἰσχύς παρ'
V f. 89r αὐτῆς. αὐτὸ δὲ τὸ πρᾶγμα καὶ τὸν τρό| πον, ὅπως καὶ πόθεν, ἢ φήμη σε
διδάξει ταχύ, εἰ μήπω τοῦτο καὶ ἤνυσεν, ὡς ἔστιν εἰκάζειν, πᾶσαν ἤδη
15 ταῦτα καὶ εὐξαι, μᾶλλον δὲ μὴ ἐλλίπης ταῖς εὐχαῖς ἐνδαμιλευόμενος, εἴ
τι καὶ βραχὺ μέλει σοι τῶν τῆδε καὶ καθ' ἡμᾶς.

44: V 88^v A 260^v-261^r

9 μὴ ante θορυβουμένους add. A

45: 1 Ἦκει - ἐφοβούμην: cf. Job 3,25 || 1-2 χειροθεσία - φοβερώτερον: cf. Maur. Epigr. 92,1 sqq. || 10-11 τὴν - ἰσχύειν: cf. Iacob. 5,16

45: V 88^r-89^r A 261^v10 πάντῃ scripsi: πάντῃ VA Lag || 16 καὶ² om. Lag.

A friendly letter from the East moving as a flash of sunlight has filled both the eyes and the ears of your friend with splendor. In an instant both the senses were illumined by the brilliance of this joyful light. What will happen when the star itself appears, seeing that its slightest radiance can produce such cheerfulness in my soul? My true bright star, do show yourself sometime by returning to us, for I cannot bear to designate you as one of those stars that receive their motion from another cause, let alone that they are fainter in their light. But since I have numbered you among the planets, I demand that your orbit be voluntary and autonomous — for indeed you judges are planets accustomed to roam about, living every time in a different province. Therefore, I am urging and pressing hard for your return to us, who for a long time now have desired your sweet appearance. Indeed, until when are you planning to stay in the East? You should by this time shine upon us in the West as well, who have sent you there. May we see you shining forth with the light of virtue, illuminating us from near at hand and not from afar, for which many a time I have prayed and expect now already. Concerning the charges which you, the altogether excellent one, hoped so easily to escape — I mean your unfriendliness and your silence up to now — I shall listen to you another time, if it will be permitted me to live until that sweet moment; but it should be permitted me to live so that I may rejoice in seeing you. And indeed in this judgment I shall certainly show some forgiveness to the one who has the office to judge others. Only be of good courage and come back to us rejoicing.

μς' Φιλική γραφίς ἐξ ἀνατολῶν, ὡς ἡλιακὴ βολίς κινήθεισα, τὰς τε ὄψεις τοῦ φίλου καὶ τὰς ἀκοὰς περιέλαμψεν, ὡς ὄλον εὐθὺς ἀμφοτέρωθεν χαροποιοῦ λαμπηδόνοιο ἀναπλησθῆναι. ποταπὸς οὖν ἄρα μέλλει φανεῖσθαι ὁ ἀστήρ αὐτὸς ἀναφάνας, ὁπότε καὶ μικρὰ τις ἐκείνου διαύγεια
5 τοσαύτην ἐνεργάζεσθαι δύναται ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἡμῶν ἰλαρότητα; ἀνάφανον οὖν ποτὲ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐπανήκων, ὁ ἡμέτερος ὄντως φωτοβόλος ἀστήρ· οὐ γὰρ ἀνεχόμεθα δὴ σε τοῖς κατηστερισμένοις τούτοις συντάττειν, ὡς ἐξ ἀλλοτρίας αἰτίας δεχομένοις τὴν κίνησιν, ἐῷ γὰρ εἰπεῖν ὅτι καὶ τὸ φῶς ἀμβλυτέροις, ἀλλὰ σε τοῖς πλάνησι τιθέντες ἐνάριθμον· καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ
V f. 89v πλάνητες ὑμεῖς οἱ κριταὶ ἐν ἄλλοτε ἄλλη τῶν ἐπαρχιῶν | διατρίβοντες προαιρετικὴν ὥσανεὶ καὶ οἰκείαν τὴν φορὰν ἀπαιτοῦμεν. ἐνθεν τοι καὶ τὸν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀναποδισμόν, τοὺς πάλαι ποθοῦντάς σου τὴν γλυκεῖαν φάσιν, ἐπισπεύδομεν ἤδη καὶ κατεπεύγομεν· ἄχρι γὰρ τίνος ἐμμενεῖς τοῖς ἐφόις; δέον ἤδη ποτὲ καὶ τοῖς ἐκεῖ σε προπέμψασιν δυτικοῖς ἡμῖν ἀναλάμ-
15 ψαι. ἴδοιμεν οὖν σε τῷ τῶν ἀρετῶν φωτὶ φαίνοντα, καὶ μᾶλλον ἐγγύθεν ἢ πόρρωθεν ἡμᾶς καταυγάζοντα, ὃ πολλὰκις εὐξάμενοι, νῦν ἤδη καὶ προσδοκῶμεν. περὶ δέ γε τῶν ἐγκλημάτων, ἀπερ οὕτω ῥαδίως ὁ πάντα σὺ γενναῖος ἤλπισας ὑπεκδῦναι, τῆς ἀφιλίας τε λέγω καὶ τῆς εἰς τὸ δεῦρο σιγῆς, ἀκουσόμεθά σου καὶ πάλιν, εἰ μέχρι τῆς ἡδίστης ὥρας ἐκείνης
20 ἡμῖν ἐπιτραπεῖν τὸ ζῆν. ἀλλ' ἐπιτραπεῖν, καὶ ζῆσαιμεν, ἵνα σου τῆς θεᾶς καταπολαύσωμεν. καὶ τάχα συγγνωμονέστερον τῷ κρίνειν ἄλλους λαχόντι, περὶ ταύτην τὴν κρίσιν ἡμεῖς προσενεχθησόμεθα. θάρρει μόνον· καὶ χαίρων πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐπανερχοῦ.

46: V 89^v A 261^v-262^v

7 κατεστηρισμένοις A || 8 ἐκδεχομένοις A || 20 ἀλλ' - ζῆσαιμεν marg A

47

Your deliverance granted to us lately so unexpectedly by the God of mercy, of wonders and marvels, «who alone does wondrous things», was to me the most important event, my most honoured friend. The letter which confirmed the good tidings of this happy event was also important — how could it not be? And where does the bonus come from? Certainly not from the wicked one, as it is written, but on the contrary, from the good and kind one. For the gifts are from my most generous friend, who has a habit of doing good. For these, may God invest you with «the robe of gladness» and may He bestow upon you «the garment of salvation» as a reward for your charity — because not even the dangers you endured in any way diminished that old fervour of your friendship towards us, did not affect your other virtues, with which your perfection was enriched in every way by God: that is those virtues which were with you in the past while you were sailing along smoothly and did not abandon you in the storm, but followed you closely even now when you suffered a shipwreck.

48

I have only one good report to hear from the West, which in other respects is thriving in adversity — that your holiness is alive and in good health, something that makes up for many other things if not for everything. Thanks then to Him who has granted your well-being to us until now; we place our hopes in Him that he will continue to grant it ever more. Regarding my own bodily and spiritual well-being, both are similar, for I am still just about as sick in both respects. I stop short of saying that it is fatal and that we have died already. The external circumstances of my life are even worse than usual. The only consolation which was left to me, that is my freedom, the truly invaluable treasure, greater and more dear than anything else, is now in danger of being taken away from me. A greater authority is coercing me to accept a bishop's throne and some higher distinctions, thereby striving to bring about by force a change in my pleasant and peaceful way of life. But when and under what circumstances have I stood more in need of your mighty prayers and intercessions? This, then, is the time to grant them and with some liberality, otherwise your child Ioannes

47

μζ' Ἐμοὶ πάντων μέγιστον ἡ σὴ σωτηρία, τοῦ πάντων ἔμοι τιμιωτάτου
V f. 90r τῶν φίλων, ἣν ἔναγχος ἡμῖν ἐχαρίσατο παρὰ πᾶσαν ἐλπίδα ὁ θεὸς τοῦ
ἐλέους, ὁ θεὸς τῶν σημείων καὶ τῶν τεράτων, ὁ ποιῶν θαυμάσια μόνος.
μέγα δὲ καὶ τὸ γράμμα (πῶς γὰρ οὐ;) εὐαγγέλια βέβαια τοῦ καλοῦ τούτου
5 φέρον. τὸ δὲ περισσὸν τούτων πόθεν; οὐμενοῦν ἐκ τοῦ πονηροῦ, ὃ δὴ γέγρα-
πται, ἀλλὰ τοῦναντίον καὶ λίαν ἐκ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ καὶ χρηστοῦ· ἐκ τοῦ φιλο-
δωροτάτου γὰρ μοι τὰ δῶρα, καὶ ἡ εὐποιΐα κατὰ συνήθειαν. ἀλλ' ἀντι-
τούτων αὐτός μοι τὸν τῆς εὐφροσύνης χιτῶνα ἐκ θεοῦ περιβάλοιο, καὶ τὸ
τοῦ σωτηρίου ἱμάτιον εἰς ἀμοιβὴν τῆς χάριτος ἀντιλάβοις, ὅτι οὐδὲν οὐδ'
10 ὑπὸ τῶν κινδύνων ἡμῖν ἐζημίωσαι τῆς προτέρας ἐκείνης εἰς φιλίαν θερμό-
τητος, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ τῆς ἄλλης ἀρετῆς, ἣν ἡ σὴ τελειότης παντοδαπὴν
ἐπλούτει παρὰ θεοῦ. ἢ σοὶ καὶ εὐπλοοῦντι πάλοι συνῆν καὶ ναυαγήσαντι
νῦν συνεξηνήξατο καὶ συνηκολούθησεν.

48

μη' Ἐν μόνον ἔχομεν ἐκ δυσμῶν ἀκούειν χρηστόν, εὐθηνουμένων τάλλα
τοῖς ἐναντίοις· τὴν τῆς σῆς ὁσιότητος ζωὴν καὶ υγίαν, ἥτις ἀντι πολλῶν
V f. 90v ἡμῖν ἄλλων ἢ καὶ ἀντι πάντων! ἀρκεῖ. χάρις οὖν τῷ εἰς δεῦρο χαρισαμένῳ
ταύτην ἡμῖν, εἰς ὃν ἐλπίζομεν, ὅτι χαριεῖται καὶ ἔτι. τὰ καθ' ἡμᾶς δὲ ὅσον
5 ἐπὶ τῷ σώματι, καὶ μέντοι καὶ τῇ ψυχῇ, ἑαυτοῖς ἐστὶν ὁμοία· ἀρρωστοῦ-
μεν γὰρ ἔτι σοὶ κατ' ἄμφω παραπλησίως· φείδομαι γὰρ εἰπεῖν, ὡς ἤδη
που τελέως καὶ νενεκρώμεθα. τὰ ἐξῶθεν δὲ τῆς συνθηεῖας βαρύτερα· ὃ
γὰρ μόνον προσῆν εἰς παρηγορίαν ἡμῖν, ἡ ἐλευθερία, τὸ ὄντως ἀδιατίμη-
τον χρῆμα καὶ παντὸς ἄλλου μείζον καὶ προσφιλέστερον, ἀποστῆναι καὶ
10 τοῦτο κινδυνεύει νῦν ἀφ' ἡμῶν, ἐπὶ τινὰς θρόνους καὶ βαθμῶν προκοπᾶς
τῆς ἐξουσίας βιαζομένης καὶ μεταβολὴν ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἐπενεγκεῖν τῷ καθ'
ἡμᾶς γλυκεῖ τούτῳ καὶ γαληνίῳ βίῳ φιλονεικούσης. ἀλλὰ ποῦ δὴ καὶ
πότε μᾶλλον ἡμῖν τῶν σῶν δυνατῶν προσευχῶν καὶ πρεσβειῶν χρεῖα; νῦν
τοῖνον μάλιστα δαψιλεστέρας ταύτας χαρίζου· εἰ δ' οὖν, οἴχεται σοὶ τὸ

47: 3 Ps. 71,18 || 5 Matth. 5, 37 || 8-9 Isai. 61,10

47: V 89^r-90^r A 262^r-263^r48: V 90^r-91^r A 263^r-264^r

is gone. May the best prevail and it shall prevail at all events, I have no doubt, if your prayers for me are very eager and ardent. Take up your task quickly then and extend to me from afar your support which I urgently need, if you are still concerned about me. And may you report that you are happy and in good health so that prescind from all this, I may suffer less from this intrusion into my life, if it should actually occur; and through good tidings concerning your holiness I may be relieved of much of this anguish that results from it.

49

[To Michael]

It seems as if you could not get enough of your absence from me owing either to hatred towards those here or friendship towards those there, which is what I rather suspect. For what pretext could there be for hatred towards me, a compatriot and a partner in studies and learning? But as the saying goes, the lotus takes captive those who taste it and this is the reason for being oblivious for a long time of those at home and the absolute forgetfulness about returning home. But by all means may the desire of returning home come over you anyway; indeed, may it come into your memory. The length of time has made you fonder and all the more desired, my most honourable friend and lord. On this occasion, however, I am introducing to you this man, who comes in my stead, so that you may recognize in him your friend Ioannes, if you still care about him. Likewise your friend Ioannes shall recognize in him his Michael, I mean the ever good and beloved by all, for the good will shown to this man or also the other way around—but let this other way around be dropped—crosses over to Ioannes. Apart from this, may you enjoy good health above all and in addition be of good spirit, for I know that you undoubtedly fare well in the spirit but concerning your bodily health, I am doubtful and uncertain because of the body's susceptibility to sickness and the ease with which its condition changes.

15 τέκνον ὁ Ἰωάννης. πλὴν, ἀλλὰ νικήσοι τὸ ἄμεινον· καὶ νικήσει γε πάν-
τως, οὐκ ἐνδοιάζω, εἰ τῶν σῶν εὐχῶν τύχοιμεν ἐκτενεστέρων καὶ θερμο-
V f. 91r τέρων. θάττον οὖν ἔργου ἔχου, καὶ βοήθει μακρόθεν τὴν ἀναγκαιοτάτην
βοήθειαν, εἴ τις ἔτι σοι λόγος τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς. αὐτὸς δέ μοι καὶ χαίρων καὶ
εὐρώστως ἔχων ἀγγέλλοιο, ὡς ἂν τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ ἤττον ἀλγῶμεν ἐπὶ τῇ
20 τοῦ βίου καινοτομία, εἴπερ ἄρα τοῦτο συμβαίη, τοῖς περὶ τῆς σῆς ἀγιότη-
τος χρηστοτέροις εὐαγγελίοις τὸ πολὺ τῆς ἐντεῦθεν ὑφαιροῦντες ἀδημο-
νίας.

49

<Τῷ Μιχαήλ>

μθ' Ὡς ἀπληστος σὺ τὴν ἀφ' ἡμῶν ἀπουσίαν ἦτοι μίσει τῶν τῆδε ἢ καὶ
τῶν αὐτόθι φιλία, ὃ καὶ μᾶλλον ὑπονοοῦμεν· τίς γὰρ πρόφασις μίσους
πρὸς ἄνδρα συμπολίτας ἡμᾶς καὶ λόγων κοινωνοὺς καὶ παιδείσεως;
5 ἀλλ' ἡ (τὸ λεγόμενον) ὁ λωτὸς κατέχει τοὺς γευσαμένους, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο
τῶν οἴκοι λήθη μακρὰ καὶ νόστου παντελῆς ἀμνηστία. ἀλλ' ἔλθοι σοι
πάντως, ἔλθοι δῆποτε καὶ οὗτος εἰς μνήμην, ἐπειδὴ ποθεινότερον πεποί-
ηκέ σε ὁ χρόνος, καὶ παρὰ τοῦτο τάχα καὶ εὐκταιότερον, τιμιώτατε φίλων
καὶ ἀρχόντων ἐμοί. πρὸς δ' οὖν τὸ παρὸν τὸν παρόντα σοι προσάγομεν
10 ἀνθ' ἡμῶν, ἵνα γνῶς ἐν αὐτῷ τὸν σὸν Ἰωάννην, εἴ τις ἔτι σοι τοῦ φίλου
V f. 91v φροντίς, ἐπειδὴ | περ κάκεῖνος τὸν ἑαυτοῦ Μιχαήλ, τὸν πάντα καλόν
φημι καὶ πᾶσιν ἠγαπημένον, ἐν αὐτῷ ἐπιγνώσεται, τῆς εἰς τοῦτον εὐνοίας
ἢ καὶ τὸ ἔμπαλιν (ἀλλ' ἀπείη τοῦτο τὸ ἔμπαλιν) εἰς ἐκεῖνον διαβαινού-
σης. τὰ δ' ἐπὶ τούτοις εὐ ἔχοις μοι τό τε σῶμα προηγουμένως καὶ τὴν
† 15 ψυχὴν ἐπ' αὐτῷ, ἐπειδὴ τὴν μὲν ἐρρωμένην σοι βεβαίως γινώσκω, τὸ δὲ
τὴν ὑγείαν ἀμφίβολον ἔμοιγε καὶ ἄδηλον ἔχει διὰ τὸ τῆς ὕλης εὐπαθές τε
καὶ εὐμετάβλητον.

49: 5 ὁ - γευσαμένους; cf. CPG II 515 || 14-15 τὴν ψυχὴν - γινώσκω; cf. Greg. Naz. Ep. 92, 1 sq (I 112 Gallay)

49: V 91^v A 264^v
I titulum ex linea II supplevi

What have I suffered, you ask, and what is this thing that has happened to me? It is no wonder that you wonder, because even I, who experienced this event, am greatly perplexed and do not believe that it could have happened to me since I had expected anything except to see such a drastic change affecting me despite the fact that I have endeavoured diligently all my life, which you would not deny, to avoid such a turn of things. But perhaps this has come about for my instruction, that I might learn that we humans do not always totally govern our own destinies, but I too —as well as others— must submit to and obey the will of providence, which directs everything, even if what happens is not often what we would want, and that it is impossible to escape and get away from its dictates, even for the most secure or otherwise most stable person. But since he has so decided and the mightier has prevailed and now has me lying defeated beneath his feet, I thank his wise judgment, by which he rules the universe and by which he arranged my affairs in the manner he pleased. What else, then, can be said? I am in great and indispensable need of prayers which are able to strengthen my weakness and exhaustion. For as you know, I abound both in spiritual weakness and in bodily infirmities; either one is enough to bring a halt to any activity of the sick. But when these two meet in one person, that person faces the divine hand, and that person is no other than I myself who speak now, and who need the help of many pious supplications. This debt then which is most necessary and indispensable, is owed to me first and foremost by those who are relatives and who are otherwise close to me, of whom I consider and nominate your holiness as most important.

Therefore, indeed, as the one who is first, be the first to pay your debt of prayers, and just as you are first among all the others together, you should neither abandon any of your privileges here, in favour of somebody else nor should you give (as you have heard) your glory to someone else, but begin to intercede now on my behalf, above all make a start and do not give up until you

v' Ὅτι μὲν σοι πεπόνθαμεν καὶ τί τὸ συμβάν περὶ ἡμᾶς τοῦτο πρᾶγμα, θαυμαστὸν οὐδὲν εἰ θαυμάζεις· καὶ αὐτὸς γὰρ ἐγώ, περὶ ὧν συνέβη τὸ γεγονός, ἀπορίαν ἔχω πολλήν καὶ ἀπιστίαν ἐπὶ τῷ πράγματι, ἐπειδὴ πάντα ἤλπισα μᾶλλον ἢ τοιαύτην ἰδεῖν καινοτομίαν περὶ ἡμᾶς, τοὺς διὰ 5 βίου παντός, ὡς οὐδ' αὐτὸς ἂν ἀρνήσαιτο, φιλοπόνως τὴν τούτων ἀποφυγὴν μελετήσαντας, ἀλλ' ἵνα παιδευθῶμεν, ἴσως καὶ μάθωμεν, ὡς οὐ πάντα καὶ πάντως ἑαυτῶν ἡμεῖς οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἄρχομεν, ἀλλὰ δεῖ τῷ θελήματι τῆς V f. 92r τῶ πᾶν ἀγοῦσης προνοίας καὶ ἡμᾶς πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις | ὑπέκκειν καὶ πειθαρχεῖν, κἂν εἰ καὶ πολλάκις ἡμῖν οὐ κατὰ γνώμην ἢ τὸ γινόμενον, καὶ 10 οὐκ ἔστιν ἐκεῖθεν ἀποδρᾶσαι καὶ ὑπεκδῦναι οὐδὲ τὸν ἀσφαλέστατον λίαν ἢ τὸν ἄλλως ἐνστατικώτατον. ἐπεὶ δ' οὖν ἔδοξεν οὕτω καὶ ὁ κρείττων ἐκράτησε καὶ ἡττηθέντας ἡμᾶς ὑπὸ πόδας ἔχει κειμένους, χάρις τοῖς αὐτοῦ σοφοῖς κρίμασιν, οἷς τὸ πᾶν κυβερνῶν καὶ τὸ καθ' ἡμᾶς ὧν εὐδόκησεν ὠκονόμησε τρόπον. τί οὖν ἔτι πρὸς τούτοις; πολλή τις εὐχῶν καὶ 15 ἀπαραίτητος χρεία, τὸ ἀσθενὲς ἡμῶν καὶ τὸ ἄτονον ἱκανῶν ἐνισχυσαί· καὶ γὰρ πλεονεκτοῦμεν, ὡς οἴσθα, ἐν τε ψυχικαῖς ἀσθενείαις καὶ σωματικοῖς ἀρρωσθήμασιν, ὧν ἀρκεῖ καὶ τὸ ἕτερον ἐμποδισμὸν πάσης πράξεως ἐπάγειν τῷ πάσχοντι· ὅτε δὲ καὶ ἀμφοτέρα περὶ τὸν ἕνα συνδράμη, χειρὸς 20 θείας ἀντικρυς ἐκεῖνος ὁ ἄνθρωπος, ὃς οὐκ ἄλλος τις μᾶλλον ἢ ὁ λέγων αὐτός εἰμι, καὶ πολλῶν ἀγίων δεήσεων εἰς βοήθειαν χρῆζει. οὐκοῦν ὀφείλουσι πρῶτοι τὸ ἀναγκαιότατον τοῦτο καὶ χρειωδέστατον χρέος οἱ πρὸς γένους τε μάλιστα καὶ οἱ προσήκοντες ἄλλως, ὧν ἀπάντων κεφάλαιον V f. 92v τὴν | σὴν ἀγιότητα νομίζω καὶ ὀνομάζω.

Τοιγαροῦν οἷα πρῶτος, καὶ πρῶτος ἀπόδος τῶν εὐχῶν μοι τὸ ὀφλημα, καὶ ὡσπερ ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ἄλλοις πάντων ὁμοῦ πρωτεύεις, μηδ' ἐνταῦθα τούτων τινὶ τῶν σεαυτοῦ πρεσβείων ἐκστῆς, μηδὲ δῶς, ὅπερ ἤκουσας, ἐτέρῳ τὴν δόξαν σου, ἀλλὰ κάταρξαι δὴ μοι τῆς ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ νῦν πρε-

50: 11-12 ἐπεὶ - κειμένους; cf. Maur. Epigr. 93, 37-38 || 18-19 χειρὸς - ἄνθρωπος; cf. Hebr. 10,31 || 26-27 μηδὲ - σου; cf. Isai. 42,8

50: V 91'-92' A 264'-266'
9 κἂν Lag: κἂν VA || 10 οὐκ ἔστιν bis scripsit A

persuade and bend any resistance. And may God bestow on me some of His grace and strength through you, so that I may bear the yoke to which I have submitted without stumbling, and so that becoming transformed through your prayers from unworthy to worthy, I may be declared an agent of my own salvation and of greater praise and glory for you in the eyes of God. But, over and above all, may I see you some time, indeed, may I see you at all events again, before I depart from here, so that I may have through the joy of your divine countenance a clear picture of the joy that the righteous shall have there.

51

[To Konstantinos]

But now it is the opposite. It is not the Lydian who went out to buy troubles, but rather the troubles have purchased and cast the Lydian upon unavoidable dangers which torture him. What is even worse, he has been betrayed altogether and sold out by you, his friends. To add insult to injury, you do not care at all about the friend not even after the betrayal—indeed, that ill fated one has been sold by you and is now gone, since you had not arranged a better way of life for him or looked after his prosperity and honour, as you made him believe, but rather cast him far off as if he were a burden with such a graceful and appropriate excuse, so that you might both get rid of him more easily—what trouble was he causing I do not know—and appear to have done not an injustice but on the contrary some great benefit. For this is the greatest stroke of your cleverness that those, who have excelled to the utmost as clever men, must, as it seems, cunningly contrive, when they perform something wrong, not to be regarded as such. But my experience from this event, even though I was unwise before—and for that reason also easily manipulated—has now made me wise. By hard experience, at least, I have learned like the Homeric child. What I learned is that I have been betrayed and that «the friends»—as the popular saying goes—«have forsaken the one away from home». So far are they from being attached to a corpse. But the one who is absent is not apart from his friends, but joins them in his memory; through the ears and eyes of the

σβείας, μᾶλλον δὲ κατάρχου καὶ μὴ ἀνῆς, ἕως πείσεις καὶ κάμψεις, καὶ μεταδῶ τινος χάριτος ἡμῖν καὶ δυνάμεως ὁ θεὸς διὰ σέ, ἵνα τὸν ζυγὸν ὃν
30 ὑπήλθομεν ἀπροσκόπως ἐλκύσωμεν, καὶ ταῖς σαῖς προσευχαῖς ἐξ ἀναξί-
ων ἄξιοι καταστάντες, σοὶ τε μείζονος ἐπαίνου καὶ δόξης παρὰ θεῶ, καὶ
ἑαυτοῖς σωτηρίας ἀναδειχθεῖημεν πρόξενοι. ἐπὶ τούτοις δὲ πᾶσιν ἴδοιμὲν
σε ποτέ, ναὶ πάντως ἴδοιμεν πάλιν, πρὶν ἐνθένδε μεταναστῆναι, ὡς ἂν
εἰκόνα σαφῆ τῆς ἐκεῖ χαρᾶς τῶν δικαίων τῇ περιχαρεία τῆς θείας σου
35 δεξώμεθα ὄψεως.

51

<Τῷ Κωνσταντίνῳ>

να' Ἄλλὰ νῦν τούναντίον· οὐχ ὁ Λυδὸς γὰρ τὰ πράγματα, τὸν Λυδὸν δὲ
V f. 93r τὰ πράγματα πριάμενα μᾶλλον κινδύνοις ἀφύκτοις | ἐπιρρίπτει καὶ βασανί-
ζει, παρ' ὑμῶν τῶν φίλων, τὸ σχετλιώτερον, ἐκδεδομένον ὄλον καὶ
5 πεπραμένον. τοῦ κακοῦ δὲ προσθήκη, ὅτι οὐδένα λόγον οὐδὲ μετὰ τὴν
ἐκδοσιν ποιεῖσθε τοῦ φίλου, ἀλλ' ὄντως ὑμῖν ὁ κακοδαίμων ἐκεῖνος πέ-
πραταί τε καὶ οἴχεται, καθάπερ οὐ προκοπήν τινα βίου μνηστευσαμένοις
αὐτῷ, οὐδὲ τὰ πρὸς εὐημερίαν τε καὶ δόξαν σπουδάσασιν, ὡς ἐπείθετε
λέγοντες, ἀλλ' οἰοεῖ τινα φόρτον ἀπεσκευασμένοις μακρὰν μετ' εὐσχη-
10 μονος οἴας καὶ εὐπρεποῦς τῆς αἰτίας, ἵν' ὁμοῦ τε τούτου ῥᾶον ἀπαλλα-
γεῖητε (τί λυποῦντος, οὐκ οἶδα) καὶ οὐχ ὅπως ἀδικεῖν, ἀλλὰ τούναντίον
καὶ μέγα τι δόξοιτε ποιεῖν ἀγαθόν· τοῦτο γὰρ τὸ σοφώτατον τῆς ὑμετέρας
σοφίας, καὶ δεῖ τοὺς εἰς ἄκρον οὕτω σοφοὺς καὶ κακόν τι δρῶντας, ὡς
ἔοικε, τεχνάζειν τὸ μὴ νομίζεσθαι. ἀλλ' ἡμῖν ἡ πείρα τοῦ πράγματος
15 καίπερ ἀσόφοις οὐσι τὸ πρῖν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ εὐαγῶγοις, κατέστη νῦν
εἰς σοφίαν· καὶ παθόντες γοῦν ἔγνωμεν κατὰ τὸν Ὀμηρικὸν νῆπιον. ἡ δὲ
V f. 93v γνῶσις, ὡς προδεδόμεθα καὶ ὅτι ἐπέλιπον, | (τοῦτο δὴ τὸ δημῶδες) οἱ φίλοι
τῷ ἀποδήμῳ· τοσοῦτου γε δέουσι προσμεῖναι νεκρῷ. ὁ ἀπόδημος δ' ὅμως
οὐχὶ καὶ τῶν φίλων ἀπόδημος, ἀλλὰ σύνεστί τε διὰ τῆς μνήμης καὶ τοῖς

29-30 ἵνα - ἐλκύσωμεν: cf. Maur. Epigr. 93, 55

51: 1-2 οὐχ - μᾶλλον: cf. CPG I 29; II 7; Karathanasis 43-44 || 16 παθόντες - νῆπιον: cf. Hom. II. 17,32; Hesiod. Op. 218; CPG I 200; II 85 || 17-18 ἐπέλιπον - ἀποδήμῳ: fontem non inveni

51: V 92^v-94^v A 266^v-267^v
I titulum ex linea 38 infra supplevi || 9 ἀποσκευασμένοις A

soul, he delights pleasantly in the voices and faces of his friends and he does not fail to mention them or bring them forth in his talks by extolling their virtues to the full. There are many who can testify to this statement and along with them these letters that come into your hands, to you — a true image of Hermes—honouring you, as you see, with the double gifts of Hermes. On the one hand, as eloquent, I suppose, through the literary and written part of this gift and on the other, as an enterprising person (indeed, allow me this one) «through the best acceptable thing to the mortals», according to you, the wise one, which, by «shining forth as a burning fire» (to speak like Pindar) shall soon warm with its charm the supervening coolness and shall make our friendship see again, for it appears to have been blinded in another way, since its affliction now is really due to forgetfulness and not to affection.

Accordingly, let your wallet take what is its own and your eloquence my discourse and next, if you request, add and conclude by borrowing in this matter something that rings true to me — «let friendship claim the friend». Bid farewell to the art of thievery as well as that of debate, the other wonderful powers of Hermes, for these now have nothing in common with me and with literature. Show me once more with deeds that most honoured Konstantinos, I mean the true friend, the faithful, the most kindly disposed, the wise not less in deeds than in words, whose fine qualities and love exceed every measure. I demand back and seek again that one, then — that one may I meet more and above any other, even more may I meet him at a more opportune time, because my whole time is full of cares and anxieties for me on account of you and no one else, who endeavoured to dispose my affairs from another status to this present one. Indeed, I shall repeat these words again and shall do so frequently, until I put the guilty ones to greater shame and persuade and rouse them to greater helpfulness. May you remain none other than such as you were known to be by me, watching over most of all, I should say, your own welfare and everything that concerns divine supervision and providence.

20 τῆς ψυχῆς ὡσί τε καὶ ὄμμασι τῶν φιλικῶν καὶ λόγων καὶ ὄψεων ἠδέως κατατρυφᾷ, διὰ γλώττης τε τούτους οὐκ ἀπολείπει φέρων καὶ ἄγων καὶ ἐπὶ καλλίστῳ παντὶ τὰ κατ' αὐτοὺς ἐκθειάζων. μάρτυρες δὲ πλείστοι τοῦ λόγου, μεθ' ὧν καὶ ταῦτα τὰ νῦν ἐπὶ τὰς σὰς χεῖρας ἤκοντα ὡσανεὶ τινα τύπον ὄντως Ἐρμοῦ τοῖς διττοῖς, ὡς ὄρας, Ἐρμαϊκοῖς σε δώροις φιλο-
25 φρονούμενα, ἔνθεν μὲν οἷα λόγιον τῷ τῆς δωρεᾶς δῆπου τούτῳ λογιῶ καὶ γραμματεῖω, ἔνθεν δ' αὖ ὡς κερδῶον, καὶ γὰρ συγχώρει καὶ τοῦτο, τῷ καλλίστῳ βροτοῖς, κατὰ τοὺς σοφοὺς ὑμᾶς, δεξιῶματι, ὅπερ ὡς αἰθόμενον πῦρ, Πινδαρικῶς εἶπειν, ἀναλάμψαν, ἐκθερμανεῖ τε τάχα τῷ φίλτρῳ τὴν ἐπιγενομένην ψυχρότητα καὶ τὴν φιλίαν βλέψαι ποιήσει, τρόπον ἕτερον
30 δοκοῦσαν ἐκτετυφλῶσθαι, ἐπειδήπερ ἐνταῦθα λήθη τις τὸ πάθος, οὐκ V f. 94r εὐνοία.

Ἐπολαβέτω σοι τοίνυν ἡ μὲν πῆρα τὸ ἴδιον, ἡ δὲ λογιότης τὸν λόγον, καὶ καθεξῆς, εἰ κελεύεις, ἔπαγέ μοι καὶ σύνναγε, προσδανειζόμενός τι κάντεῦθεν ἐκ τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς ἀληθείας τὸ καὶ ἡ φιλία τὸν φίλον (ἡ κλεπτικὴ γὰρ τέως χαιρέτω, ὡς περ οὖν καὶ ἡ ἐναγώνιος, αἱ λοιπαὶ καὶ θαυμά-
35 σιαι τοῦ Ἐριουνίου δυνάμεις· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐκείναις πρὸς ἡμᾶς τε καὶ πρὸς τοὺς λόγους) καὶ μοι δείκνυ καὶ πάλιν ἐπὶ τῶν ἔργων τὸν ἐμοὶ τιμιώτατον Κωνσταντῖνον ἐκείνον, τὸν ἀληθῆ λέγω φίλον, τὸν πιστόν, τὸν εὐνοῦστατον, τὸν οὐχ ἥττον τοῖς ἔργοις ἢ τοῖς λόγοις σοφόν, οὐ σταθμὸς
40 οὐδεὶς ἦν τῆς καλλονῆς τε καὶ τῆς ἀγάπης. ἐκείνον οὖν αὐθις ἀπαιτῶ καὶ αἰτῶ, ἐκείνου καὶ τύχοιμι πρὸ πάντων διαφερόντως, μᾶλλον δὲ κατὰ πάντα τυγχάνοιμι καιρὸν εὐλογώτερον, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἅπας καιρὸς ἐμπερίστατος ἡμῖν καὶ ἐμμέριμος δι' ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς καὶ οὐκ ἄλλους, τοὺς ἐξ οὗ τοιούτων τοιαῦτα σπουδάσαντας τὰ καθ' ἡμᾶς διαθέσθαι. πάλιν γὰρ καὶ
V f. 94v πολλακίς ἀνακυκλήσω τὸν λόγον, ὡς καταιδέσω πλεον καὶ πείσω, καὶ πρὸς μείζω βοήθειαν τοὺς ἐνόχους διαναστήσω. εἴης μοι μηδὲν ἕτερον ἢ τοιοῦτος ὁποῖος ἐγινώσκου τηρούμενος τὰ ἐπὶ σοὶ τε λέγω προηγουμένως, καὶ ὅσα τῆς θείας ἐπισκοπῆς καὶ προνοίας.

24 τύπον Ἐρμοῦ: cf. CPG II, 420 || 26-27 Eur. fr. 324 1; cf. Greg. Nyss. Epist. 14, PG 46, 1049-1052 || 27-28 Pind. Olymp. 1, 1 || 29-30 τὴν - ἐκτετυφλῶσθαι: cf. CPG II 777 || 34-35 ἡ κλεπτική: cf. Karathanasis 22 || 39 τοῖς - λόγοις: cf. Eur. Alc. 339

21 καὶ ante διὰ add. A | τε τούτους: αὐτοὺς A || 36 Ἐριγνίου A

Not only the ancients, as you have read, should be damned for admiring the Greek gods for that mythical ambrosia and nectar, but in addition to them, everyone who through ignorance has pronounced us the leaders of the church, blessed, because we have been invested with a stole and a throne. By now it has become very clear to me through this experience what empty glory means and what the truth of the matter is and that what appears from the outside like the «islands of the blessed» proves to be «empty bliss» when viewed from the inside. And yet, I had foreseen these things in a way no one else had and it was for this reason that I obeyed, being more forced than persuaded; but certainly I have attained a much more perfect knowledge now and my suffering has become a very harsh lesson to me.

Having now realized this yourself, do not be discontent anymore with the magistracy of your province because it is regarded as the very opposite of what it should be and considered as prosperous by the ignorant without reason. For your misfortune gives you something in common with your friends and this sharing and similarity of experience makes your suffering easier, so that you may regard your life no longer as unbearable but instead may feel a bit relieved and even believe that you are fond of life by looking at our lot. This, lest you appear more ignoble than the mythical haers perhaps, who having completely despised their own cowardice and wretchedness, rushed all together towards a neighbouring lake in order to drown themselves, but drew back suddenly and changed their minds when they perceived that the frogs had dived to the bottom of the lake very quickly out of fear of them, being no less cowards than they. But the most useful and necessary thing above all else is: stay in good health. And may I meet you again soon in person, so that we can lament each other's fortune at closer range.

νβ' Ἐπιτριβεῖεν, ὅπερ ἀνέγνως, μὴ μόνον οἱ πάλαι, τοὺς Ἑλληνίους θεοὺς τῆς τε μυθικῆς ἀμβροσίας καὶ τοῦ νέκταρος ἐκείνου θαυμάζοντες, ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἐκείνοις καὶ ὅσοι τοὺς ἐκκλησιῶν προβεβλημένους ἡμᾶς τῶν ἐπωμίδων τούτων καὶ θρόνων ἀμαθῶς μακαρίζουσιν· ἤδη γὰρ ἡμῖν γέγονεν ἐξ 5 αὐτῆς τῆς πείρας σαφέστερον τί μὲν δόξα ματαία, τί δ' ἀλήθεια πράγμα-τος, καὶ ὅτι τὰ ἔξωθεν μακάρων νῆσοι δοκοῦντα κενὴ μακαρία τοῖς ἐντὸς εὐρίσκεται γινομένοις. καίτοι ταῦτα προῆδειμεν ὡς οὐκ οἶδ' εἴ τις ἄλλος, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο βιασθέντες οὐχ ἤττον ἢ πεισθέντες ὑπείξαμεν· νυνὶ μέντοι σφόδρα τελείαν προσειλήφαμεν γνῶσιν, καὶ γέγονεν ἡμῖν ἀκριβέστατον 10 τὸ πάθημα μάθημα.

V f. 95r Τοῦτο δὴ μοι καὶ αὐτὸς εὖ εἰδὼς μηκέτι πρὸς τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς ἐπαρ-χίας δυσχέρανε, ὡς πολὺ τοῦναντίον ἢ προσῆκεν ὑπειλημμένην καὶ μά-την εὐδαίμονα τοῖς ἀγνοοῦσι νενομισμένην. εἰς ταῦτόν γὰρ τοῖς φίλοις σε τὸ πάθος συνάγει καὶ γίνεται ῥᾶον τῇ κοινωνίᾳ καὶ ὁμοιότητι, ὡς 15 μηκέτι σε τίθεσθαι τὸν βίον ἀβίωτον, ἀλλ' ἀνενεγκεῖν τι βραχὺ καὶ πιστεῦ-σαι καὶ ἐτι ζωτικῶς ἔχειν, πρὸς τὸ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἀποβλέψαντα· ἵνα μὴ καὶ τῶν μυθικῶν ἀγεννέστερος τάχα λαγῶν δόξης, οἱ παντελῆ καταγνόντες ἑαυτῶν δειλίαν καὶ ἀθλιότητα κἀντεῦθεν ἀθροοὶ κατὰ τῆς γειτονοῦσης λίμνης ὀρμήσαντες ὡς ἑαυτοὺς ἀποπνίξοντες, ἐπέσχον ἄφνω καὶ μετεβά- 20 λοντο, ἐπεὶπερ ἦσθοντο τοὺς ταύτη βατράχους τῷ περὶ αὐτοὺς δέει κατὰ τοῦ βυθοῦ τὴν ταχίστην ἑαυτοὺς ἀπορρίψαντας, ὡς κἀκείνους οὐχ ἤκιστα δειλία κατόχους. τὸ δ' οὖν χρησιμώτατον ὅμως καὶ πάντων ἀναγκαιότα-τον τῶν ἄλλων, ὑγίαινε. καὶ σοὶ πάλιν ἐντύχοιμεν δι' ἑαυτῶν ἀμέσως ἡμεῖς, ὡς ἂν τὰς τύχας ἀλλήλοις ἐγγυτέρω προσανακλαύσωμεν.

52: 1-2 Ἐπιτριβεῖεν - θαυμάζοντες: cf. Lucian. Bis Acc. 1,1-4 || 6 CPG I 78; II 187 | Loucian. Hermot. 71; Nav. 12 || 10 τὸ πάθημα μάθημα: cf. CPG II 600, 772 || 15 Karathanasis 68 || 16-21 ἵνα - ἀπορρίψαντας: cf. Aesopica I, 138 (374 Perry); cf. Psel. Ep. 26, 21 (33 Kurtz-Drexl)

52: V 94^v-95^r A 268^{r-v}

3 τοὺς: τῶν A || 17 ἀγεννέστερος A Lag | μῦθος marg V || 20 ταύτη Lag

Virtue has not disappeared then completely from the face of the earth; but although it has departed and been gone from our midst long ago, yet even now there are found some traces of it surviving among us. And now contrary to any expectation a man has appeared, as it is said, like a *deus ex machina* with words of love, which is the chief among the virtues, and with a concern for this most important of all the moral goods. He is either a remnant of that mythical golden race, a survivor among the human race and escaping notice until now, or (as seems more correct) he has been proclaimed a visible image of Christ's discipleship to our generation by the providence which rules over all, both as a wonder and an example to the beholders. He abounds so much in this good possession (I speak of his love) that he makes haste to take into the nets of his love even those that he has never seen to begin with, imitating the universal net of the gospel, catching not only those near him, but including also those far away and all these at a time when wickedness is multiplied (as it is written) and the love of former and otherwise intimate friends has grown cold.

Know that to me this strange miraculous event seems even unbelievable and that I consider such good fortune beyond my present way of life and situation. But if indeed this is «no dream, but a true vision», I accept the event with great joy and I grasp this precious unexpected piece of luck with both hands and from now on, consider this man to be a friend, most dear of my friends. Moreover, I give my right hand with all my eagerness and I extend this letter from afar as if it were my hand and I am completely and wholly united with him before even seeing him, being mingled with some ineffable and more than sacred ties by reason of which souls are united through love with other souls. In this manner then this newly appeared and unexpected friend has been added to those who are very dear to me from early days. May this writer then be fully designated as one of his friends so that we may render to each other a just debt and moreover from now on, may we not cease imparting this disposition

V f. 95v νγ' Οὐκ ἄρα τὸν ἀνθρώπινον βίον ἀπέλιπεν | εἰς τέλος ἡ ἀρετὴ, ἀλλὰ
καίτοι τῶν τῆδε μεταστάσης πάλαι καὶ ἀπελθούσης ἔτι που καὶ νῦν ταύ-
της ἵχνος παρ' ἡμῖν σφζόμενον εὑρηται. καὶ τις νῦν παραδόξως ἄνθρω-
πος ἀνεφάνη οἶονεῖ τις θεὸς ἐκ μηχανῆς, τὸ ἀδόκονον, λόγον ἔχων ἀγά-
5 πης, τοῦ τῶν ἀρετῶν κεφαλαίου, καὶ φροντίδα τιθέμενος τοῦ πρώτου τῶν
ἀγαθῶν, εἴτε τοῦ χρυσοῦ γένους λείψανον ἐκείνου τοῦ μυθικοῦ περιλει-
φθεῖς τῷ γένει τῷ ἀνθρώπινῳ καὶ διαλαθῶν ἄχρι νῦν εἴτε, τὸ ἀληθέστερον
μᾶλλον, χαρακτήρ ἑναργῆς τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ μαθητείας τῆ καθ' ἡμᾶς
γενεᾷ παρὰ τῆς τὸ πᾶν κυβερνώσης προνοίας ἀναδειχθεὶς εἰς θαῦμα καὶ
10 ζῆλον ἅμα τῶν θεωμένων· ὃ γε τοσοῦτον περίεστι τοῦ καλοῦ τούτου
χρήματος, λέγω δὴ τῆς ἀγάπης, ὥστε καὶ οὐς τὴν ἀρχὴν οὐδέπω τεθέαται,
εἴσω τῶν ἐκείνης ἀρκύων σπεύδει λαβεῖν, τὴν εὐαγγελικὴν καὶ παγκό-
σμιον σαγήνην μιμούμενος, οὐ τὰ ἐγγὺς ἀγρεύουσιν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ
πόρρω περιλαμβάνουσιν τῆνικαῦτα, καὶ ταῦτα ὀπηνίκα πληθυνθείσης
V f. 96r τῆς ἀνομίας, κατὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον, καὶ τοῖς πάλαι συνήθεσιν ἢ | καὶ
ἄλλως φιλάτοις ἐναπεψύγη.

Ἐμοὶ γοῦν, ἴσθι, καὶ ἀπιστεῖν ἔτι ἔπεισι τῷ τοῦ θαύματος ξένῳ, καὶ
ὕπερ τὴν νῦν πολιτείαν τε καὶ κατάστασιν ἠγοῦμαι τὴν εὐτυχίαν· ἀλλ'
εἴπερ οὐκ ὄναρ, ἀλλ' ὕπαρ ἀληθῶς τὸ παρόν, δέχομαί τε τὸ πρᾶγμα μετὰ
20 περιχαρείας ἡλικίας, καὶ ἀμφοτέραις ἀρπάζω τὸ πολύτιμον ἔρμαιον, φί-
λον τε τὸν ἄνδρα ἐντεῦθεν καὶ τῶν φίλων φίλτατον τίθεμαι καὶ δεξιᾶν
ἤδη δίδωμι μεθ' ὄσης τῆς προθυμίας καὶ ὡσανεὶ τινα χεῖρα τὴν ἐπιστο-
λὴν μακρόθεν ἐμβάλλω, ὄλω τε ὄλος ἤδη καὶ πρὸ τῆς θεᾶς ἐνοῦμαι καὶ
ἀνακίρναμαι ἀρρήτοις τισὶ καὶ θειοτέραις ἐνώσεσι, καθ' ἃς ἐνοῦνται
25 ψυχαῖς διὰ τῶν φίλων ψυχαί. ὥστε οὖν ἤδη ἔμοιγε τοῖς ἀπ' ἀρχῆς
στεργομένοις καὶ ὁ νεοφανῆς καὶ παράδοξος προσεγγέγραπται φίλος·
ἐγγεγράφθω δὴ τελεώτερον καὶ ὁ γράφων ἐν τοῖς ἐκείνου, καὶ ἀποδώμεν
ἀλλήλοις τὸ δικαιοτάτον ὄφλημα, μᾶλλον δὲ ἀπονέμοντες ἐντεῦθεν μὴ
διαλίπωμεν, τὴν ἀντιδιδομένην δῆλον ὅτι ταύτην διάθεσιν, καὶ τὸ ἄλλους

53: 4 θεὸς - μηχανῆς: cf. CPG I 210; II 12 || 4-5 λόγον - κεφαλαίου: cf. Matth. 22,40 || 6 τοῦ
-μυθικοῦ: cf. Hes. Op. 109 || 12-13 τὴν - σαγήνην: cf. Matth. 13,47 || 14-16 πληθυνθείσης -ἐναπεψύ-
γη: cf. Matth. 24,12 || 19 Hom. Od. 19, 547; 20,90 || 27-28 ἀποδώμεν - ὄφλημα: cf. Rom. 13,8 ||
29-30 ἄλλους - ἠγεῖσθαι: cf. Arist. Eth. Nic. 1166a 31; Strömberg 76

to each other or considering each the other a second self or preserve unchanged the exact standard of friendship, which is the greatest of all undertakings and the best and most advantageous of all transactions. But may you appear some time more closely before these physical eyes of mine, in good health and prospering, when I am rejoicing and not being disheartened, so that we may enjoy each other in every thing that we desire.

54

Among the many and various evils in which this land abounds I had hoped to find here a single blessing, just like a sweet rose appearing in the midst of thorns, your holiness, oh excellent man of God, father, friend and brother of mine. But even this blessing which I had expected to encounter here is far away from me and on account of its absence and distance, it is impossible to share and enjoy it. But since I have been deprived of this foremost good by ill luck, I gladly do then that which is left in my power: I carry you constantly in my soul and I rest my mind on your image and by remembering you I am relieved and more at ease — because in the midst of my troubles here this is the only thing that I find a consolation, as everything else is filled with much unpleasantness and boredom. For there is such an abundance of unpleasantness and bitterness here that you who have already many a time experienced a lot of other evils and have been taught to be accustomed to the suffering of ills, would admit that these are more burdensome than the ordinary.

If you consider these to be such, then you, the wise and shrewd in everything, can imagine how terrible they are likely to appear to me, as I am completely unaccustomed to and untrained in such matters, having lived far removed from such storms and tempests until now. Reflecting on and considering these things about me, do not neglect the grace which has been granted to you from above, but pour out and share with me, with loving goodness, that which abounds in you, that is: experience in troubles, courage of soul, wise conduct during difficult times and prudence and cleverness in all other matters, for I am lacking experience in all these things. Uplifting me with your letters and guiding

V f. 96v ἑαυτοὺς ἀλλήλους ἡγεῖσθαι καὶ τὸν ἀκριβέστατον ὄρον τῆς φιλίας ἢ ἄτρεπτον σφάζειν, ὅπερ δὴ πραγματειῶν ἢ μεγίστη καὶ συναλλαγμάτων ἀπάντων τὸ λυσιτελέστατόν τε καὶ κάλλιστον. ἀλλὰ μου ποτὲ καὶ ταῖς αἰσθηταῖς ταύταις ὄψεσιν ἐγγύτερον ἐποφθείης, ὑγιαίνων εὐ ἔχοντος, καὶ χαίρων οὐκ ἀθυμοῦντος, ἵν' ἀλλήλων ἐν πᾶσιν οἷς ποθοῦμεν κατατρυφή-
35 σωμεν.

54

vδ' Ἐν πολλοῖς κακοῖς καὶ ποικίλοις, οἷς ἐνευθηνεῖται ἡ χώρα, ἐν εὐρεῖν ἤλπισα χρηστόν ἐπ' αὐτῆς ὥσπερ ἡδιστὸν ῥόδον ἀκανθῶν ἐν μέσῳ διαφανιόμενον, τὴν σὴν ὁσιότητα, ἐκλεκτὴ θεοῦ ἄνθρωπε καὶ πάτερ ἡμέτερε καὶ φίλε καὶ ἀδελφέ. ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ ἐν ἀγαθὸν οὐ τυχεῖν προσεδόκησα,
5 μακρὰν ἀπ' ἐμοῦ ἐστι, καὶ μετέχειν οὐκ ἔξεστιν οὐδ' ἀπολαύειν αὐτοῦ διὰ τὴν ἀπουσίαν καὶ τὴν διάστασιν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ πρῶτον καλὸν ὑπὸ τῆς ἐπιρρείας ἀφήρημαι, ὃ λοιπὸν δυνατόν ἐστιν, ἡδέως ποιῶ κατὰ μέσσην ἀεὶ σε τὴν ψυχὴν περιφέρω, καὶ τῇ σῇ κατὰ νοῦν ἐπαναπαύομαι θεωρία. καὶ τῇ μνήμῃ κουφίζομαι καὶ ῥᾶν ἐμαυτοῦ γίνομαι, καὶ τοῦτο μόνον εὐρί-
10 σκω τῶν ἀνιαρῶν τῶν τῆδε παραψυχῆν, ὡς τὰ γε ἄλλα πολλῆς ἀηδίας μοι V f. 97r καὶ ἀκηδίας ἢ μεστὰ οἷς τοσοῦτον περίεστι τοῦ ἀηδοῦς καὶ πικροῦ, ὥστε καὶ ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς ἤδη, τοῖς πολλῶν καὶ ἄλλων κακῶν πεπειραμένοις πολλὰ- κικ καὶ τὸ κακοπαθεῖν ἐξ ἔθους δεδιδραγμένοις, τῶν συνήθων ἐκείνων ὁμολογεῖται βαρύτερα.
15 Εἰ δὲ πρὸς ὑμᾶς οὕτω ταῦτα, ἐννοεῖτω σου τὸ περὶ πάντα συνετον καὶ ἀγχνίνου οἷα πρὸς ἡμᾶς εἰκὸς εἶναι τοὺς εἰς ἅπαν ἀήθεις περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα καὶ ἀγυμνάστους καὶ τὸν ἄχρι νῦν βίον πόρρω καταγιγδων τοιούτων καὶ κυμάτων βιώσαντας. ταῦτα δὴ λογιζόμενος περὶ ἡμῶν καὶ σκοπῶν μὴ ἀμέλει τῆς ἄνωθεν δεδωρημένης σοὶ χάριτος, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἐν σοὶ περιττεῦον
20 ἐν τε πείρα πραγμάτων καὶ ψυχῆς γενναιότητι καὶ σοφῇ κυβερνήσει δυσκολίας καιρῶν καὶ τῇ περὶ τᾶλλα φρονήσει καὶ δεξιότητι εἰς τὸ ἐν πᾶσι τούτοις ὑστέρημα ἡμῶν ἀποκένου φιλαγάθως καὶ μεταδίδου, ἀνακτώμενός τε διὰ γραφῶν καὶ χειραγωγῶν διὰ λόγων, ὑποτιθεῖς τε τὸ δέον

54: 2 ῥόδον - μέσῳ: cf. Gnom. Vatic. ed. Sternbach 13; Greg. Naz. Carm. Mor. PG. 37, 696 A; Ep. 183, 8 (II 72 Gallay) || 3 θεοῦ ἄνθρωπε: cf. I Tim. 6,11 || 7-8 κατὰ — περιφέρω: cf. Syn. Ep. 123, 7-8 (211 Garzya)

54: V 96^v-97^r A 270^f-271^f

10 τῆδε scripsi: τῆδε VA Lag || 16 τὰ τοιαῦτα: ταῦτα A

me with your advice, suggesting what is proper and teaching me what is expedient and moreover (what is better and more significant), strengthening and supporting wholly my inexperience with your prayers so that my strength shall not fail me completely. For through the excess of evil my strength has been in distress and through the constant flow of misfortunes it has been worn out, and on account of this has quickly grown weary. May the God of the just on the day of his appearance award you the crown of justice for having been just and may he again grant you to my own bodily eyes so that by having enjoyed both your spiritual words and your rather divine appearance, I may gather in from you a harvest of greater consolation.

55

Very well then, you shall make amends for having granted full freedom of speech to a meddlesome fellow. The satisfaction required is the exaction of pity for this pitiable man, who after wandering from place to place in search of a livelihood in hopes of increasing his wealth lost what he already possessed. For this reason he now appears before you, a wretched shipwreck from an unsuccessful business venture and an ill-fated voyage in which he lost the ship as well. If among you who are sailing along smoothly there is any mercy or even a modicum of sympathy for those who are tossed in such storms and endangered, give evidence of it now in the case of this man. You shall manifest it by granting him a place of refuge under your wings, which the unfortunate ones imagine to be silver-plated, just like the dove of the Psalms, and «they reckon your back to be covered with the brightness of gold». And yet although most of those have experienced or are experiencing adversity, just like this man now, because necessity is absolutely unyielding, many a time they do not hesitate to undertake the same venture hoping for better results, after they have already experienced failure. In one word —indeed, why should I repeat it many times— he shall present his case quite plainly, since he has a loud voice for his own sufferings and you should remind yourself to grant him your mercy and care. For this is not an impossible command for love. But if you would say that it is difficult I also know the divine rewards that come from it; because if goodness was most easy and at the grasp of any chance person, then it would not be something great and prized, neither would it have been deemed worthy of such great rewards by the just awarder and arbitrator of all. May he be merciful to you and may he impart to you his good will in this life and even more in the life to come.

V f. 97v και τὸ συμφέρον διδάσκων, τὸ δὲ κρεῖττον ἔτι καὶ μείζον ταῖς εὐχαῖς ἐνισχύων καὶ ὄλως ἡμῶν τὴν ἀπειρίαν ὑποστηρίζων, ἵνα μὴ ἐκλείπη τέλος ἢ ἡμετέρα ἰσχύς τῇ ἀμετρίας τε τῶν κακῶν πιεσθεῖσα καὶ τῷ συνεχεῖ καὶ ἀθρόω τῶν συμφορῶν καταπονηθεῖσα καὶ διὰ τοῦτο θάπτον ἀπαγορεύσασα. καὶ σοὶ ὁ θεὸς τῶν δικαίων ὡς καὶ δικαίω τῆς δικαιοσύνης δοίη τὸν στέφανον ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἐπιφανείας, καὶ χαρίσαιτό σε καὶ αὐθις τοῖς αἰσθητοῖς ἡμῶν ὀφθαλμοῖς, ἵνα καὶ πνευματικῶν ἅμα λόγων καὶ θειοτέρας ὄψεως ἀπολαύσαντες τὴν ἀπὸ σοῦ τελεώτερον ψυχαγωγίαν τρυγήσωμεν.

55

νε' Οὐκοῦν δώσεις δίκην ἀνδρὶ φιλοπράγμονι μεταδοῦς παρρησίας· ἡ δίκη δὲ οἴκτου εἰσπραξίς περὶ τὸν οἴκτρον τοῦτον ἄνθρωπον, ὅστις τόπον ἐκ τόπου κατὰ βίου ζήτησιν πλανηθεὶς κἀντεῦθεν ἐλπίσας τὴν οὐσίαν αὐξῆσαι, καὶ τὰ προὔπάρχοντα προσάπλωσε. διὰ ταῦτα νῦν πάρεστί σοι, 5 ναυαγὸς ἄθλιος ἐξ ἀτυχοῦς ἐμπορίας καὶ δυσδαίμονος πλοῦ προσαποβαλὼν καὶ τὸ πλοῖον. εἴ τις οὖν ἔλεος, εἴ τις καὶ μετρία συμπάθεια παρὰ τοῖς εὐπλοοῦσιν ὑμῖν περὶ τοὺς χειμαζομένους οὕτω καὶ κινδυνεύοντας, δεῖ V f. 98r ξον νῦν αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τούτου· δείξεις | δὲ χάραν ὑπὸ ταῖς σαῖς αὐτῷ πτέρυξιν εἰς καταφυγὴν χαρισάμενος, ἃς κατὰ τὴν περιστερὰν ἐκείνην τὴν ψαλμικὴν περιηγυρωμένας οὗτοι φαντάζονται, καὶ τὰ μετὰφρυνα ὑμῶν ἐν χλωρότητι χρυσοῦ λογιζονται. καὶ ταῦτα παθόντες οἱ πλείους τὰναντία καὶ πάσχοντες, ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς οὗτος ἤδη, ἀλλ' ὅμως ἐπειδὴ ἀπαραίτητον πανταχοῦ ἢ ἀνάγκη, οὐκ ὀκνοῦσι πολλακίς ἐγχειρεῖν τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν βελτιόνων ἐλπίδι καὶ μετὰ τὴν πείραν τοῦ χειρόνος. συνελόντα δ' εἰπεῖν 15 (τί γὰρ δεῖ πολλακίς ἀνακυκλεῖν;) αὐτὸς μὲν τρανότερον τὰ καθ' ἑαυτὸν παραστήσει, ἐπὶ τοῖς οἰκείοις πάθεσιν ἔχων τὸ μεγαλόφωνον, σὺ δ' ἐλέους μνησθήσῃ πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ προνοίας· τοῦτο γὰρ οὐκ ἀδύνατον πρὸς ἀγάπην ἐπίταγμα. εἰ δὲ δυσχερές, ὡς ἂν φαίης, καὶ τὰς θείας ἐντεῦθεν ἀμοιβὰς οἶδαμεν· ἐπεὶ ῥᾶστον ὄν καὶ τοῦ τυχόντος τὸ ἀγαθόν, οὐκ ἂν ἦν 20 τι μέγα καὶ τίμιον, οὐδὲ τηλικούτων ἂν γερῶν ἤξιοῦτο παρὰ τῷ δικαίῳ τῷ V f. 98v πάντων βραβευτῇ καὶ διαιτητῇ, ὅς κἀν τῷδε τῷ βίῳ | καὶ πολὺ τι μάλιστα κἀν τῷ μέλλοντι ἴλεως εἴη σοὶ καὶ τὰ καταθύμια νέμοι.

28-29 τῆς - ἐπιφανείας: cf. II Tim. 4,8

29 ἐπιφανείας: ἐπιφα A || 30 καὶ post ἅμα add. A

55: 8-10 πτέρυξιν - περιηγυρωμένας: cf. Ps. 67,14 || 10-11 Ps. 67, 14 || 16 ἐπὶ - μεγαλόφωνον: cf. Greg. Naz. Ep. 5, 14-16 (I 6 Gallay)

55: V 97'-98' A 271'-272'

2 οἴκτου εἰσπραξίς: οἴκτος A || 20 τῷ: τῶν A

56

If you do not accept empty letters, go ahead then, turn your eyes away from what I have written below. For this letter is of such a sort: barren, without any grace, without any gift and without profit, not on account of its author and his conscience — nay, by the poverty under which I suffer here— but for this reason alone, which we make into an oath. Therefore, my dearest and most excellent of all men, accept in the meantime this simple reply <of mine>, and as a true friend show pity for the misfortune of your friend. Perhaps, if he survives, he may repay you some time for the gift. For the time being I salute you — and may I hear good tidings from you and that you are progressing well. Because now you do not seem to me to be at all capable of any of the forbearance for which I knew you well in former days.

57

[To Ioannes]

I know that I love my friends without bringing them any gain or profit; it is not because of meanness of soul and pettiness (for this is altogether alien to the thoughts and intentions of your Ioannes) but because of my poverty and the utter scarcity of what is necessary for rendering any service. I should love to be loved by my friends in such a way also. In which way do I mean? Truly, genuinely and sincerely; because to demand anything more than this would be simply a commercial transaction and not in accordance with my generosity of heart so dear to me. You, who have the same name as me, be also of the same disposition in these matters, so that I may perhaps escape your reproaches by quoting someone who said about letter-writing: «I am making melodies that bring no food nor fee». May you succeed in everything and may you prosper so exceedingly henceforth not by climbing but rather by flying over the ascending ranks miraculously on swift wings.

56

νς' Εἰ μὴ κενὰ δέχη γράμματα, ἄγε δὴ μοι τὰς ὄψεις, τῶν πρόσω γεγραμμένων ἀπόστρεφε. ἡ γραφή γὰρ αὕτη τοιαύτη ἄκαρπος, ἀχαρις, ἄδωρος, ἀκερδῆς· οὐ διὰ τὸν γεγραφότα καὶ τὴν συνείδησιν, οὐ μὰ τὴν ἐνταῦθα πενίαν, ἢ πιεζόμεθα, ἀλλὰ δι' αὐτὸ μόνον τοῦτο, ὅπερ δὴ καὶ ὄρκον
5 ποιοῦμεθα. προσείρησο δ' οὖν τὴν ψιλὴν τέως πρόσρησιν, ὃ πάντων ἀνθρώπων φίλτατέ μοι καὶ βέλτιστε, καὶ τῆς ἀτυχίας τὸν φίλον ὡς φίλος ἀληθῆς οἴκτερον· τάχα δ' ἂν σε ποτὲ καὶ δωρητόν, εἰ ζήσεται, θήσοι. πρὸς τὸ παρὸν δὲ ὑγίαινε, καὶ μοι χαίρων ἀγγέλλοιο καὶ προκόπτων ποσῶς· νῦν γὰρ οὐ μοι δοκεῖς, οὐδὲ τὸ βραχύτατον, δι' ἣν σοι ἔκπαλαι
10 σύνοιδα μακροθυμίαν πρὸς τὰ τοιαῦτα.

57

<Τῷ Ἰωάννῃ>

νς' Ἀκερδῆ μὲν οἶδα τοὺς φίλους ἀγαπῶν καὶ ἀνόνητα, οὐ διὰ μικροψυχίας φαυλότητα, τοῦτο γὰρ ἀλλότριον πάντῃ τῆς Ἰωάννου γνώμης καὶ προαιρέσεως, διὰ χειρῶν δὲ πενίαν καὶ τῶν πρὸς θεραπείαν σπάνιν καὶ ἐν-
V f. 99r δειαν. ἀγαπῶν δ' ἂν, οὕτω καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπ' ἐκείνων ἀνταγαπώμενος. «οὐ-
τω» δὲ λέγω πῶς; ἀληθινῶς, γνησίως, εἰλικρινῶς, ὡς τό γε περαιτέρω προσαιτεῖν τι, καπηλεία τις ἀντικρυς καὶ οὐ τῆς ἐμοὶ στεργομένης ψυχικῆς ἐλευθεριότητος. ἔχε οὖν, ὁ ὁμώνυμος, καὶ ὁμοτρόπως κἀν τού-
τω, καὶ σου τάχα τὰς μέμψεις οὕτω φευξόμεθα ἐφ' οἷς κατὰ τὸν εἰπόντα
10 ἄσιτα κἀδώρητα φορμίζω μέλη, τὰ γράμματα. ἐπὶ πᾶσιν εὐ ἔχοις μοι καὶ προκόπτοις οὕτως ὀξέως, οὐκ ἀναβαίνων μᾶλλον τοὺς κατὰ σὲ βαθμοὺς τούτους ἢ ταχίστοις τισὶν ὠκυπτέροις παραδόξως ὑπεριπτάμενος.

56: V 98^v A 272^v3 οὐ² Lag.: οὐ VA || 5 προσείρητο A

57: 9-10 Lycophr. Alex. 140 ubi φορμίζων; CPG II 752

57: V 98^v-99^f A 272^v-273^v

1 titulum ex linea 8 infra supplevi || 3 πάντῃ scripsi: πάντῃ VA Lag

58

I love the noble trinity of brothers, the excellent and most sweet fruit of my teaching, as my own children and as my own flesh and blood. You know well that I love you very much and that my affection is very special and that my love is superior, especially if you, as wise and truly erudite, can discern my spiritual disposition. As for the external proofs, which many exact obstinately, as I see, for the demonstration of friendship, I have no capability — but some other masters do, especially those who want to have a share in everything. Regarding the memorandum, I hesitate to say that, although undertaken it had no success. However, the brother was urged to try again as best he could. Its accomplishment and the fulfillment of your desire is in the hands of God. But fare well and be of good spirit all of you and rejoice all together and may you cherish the memory of your former acquaintance and friend.

59

The wise, divine and kind words of consolation which you wrote me in your letter —by producing old and new from the good treasure and by employing every means for my comfort and consolation— restored me sufficiently, as I was almost fainting before the onslaught of evil. In return for this, may he who abides and dwells in you and walks with you (as I believe), because of the spaciousness of your purity and the breadth of your inner preparation, comfort you. I am very grateful to you, among other things, for your love upon which rests the law and the prophets and which now is found only among a very few, perhaps not even that, since wickedness abounds. But you preserve this love in yourself and do preserve it, I beg you, for love is truly good and worthy of the stores and treasures of your noble soul.

A letter has now been sent again to our common Lord; please, set it in order for me and guide it aright like the one sent earlier by me and in regard to any additional matter with which my envoy has been entrusted, let him enjoy your complete cooperation, so that he may return to me a herald and a witness of your good will and kind disposition towards us. Finally, hear the rest - may the God of love love you truly and may he grant you his grace as a faithful friend and good servant.

58

νη' Τὴν εὐγενῆ τριάδα τῶν ἀδελφῶν, τὸν καλὸν τε καὶ ἡδιστον τῆς ἐμῆς παιδείας καρπὸν, φιλῶ μὲν ὡς τέκνα τε καὶ σπλάγχνα ἐμὰ. φιλῶ καὶ λίαν, εὐ ἴστε· καὶ τὸ φίλτρον οἶον ἐξηρημένον, καὶ ἡ ἀγάπη διαφερόντως, εἰ τοῦτο ὑμεῖς ὡς σοφοὶ τῷ ὄντι καὶ λόγιοι τὴν ψυχικὴν διάθεσιν κρίνετε·
5 ἔπει τοί γε τῶν ἐξωθεν ἀποδείξεων, ἃς ὄρω τοὺς πολλοὺς ἀπαραιτήτως εἰσπράττοντας εἰς τὴν τῆς φιλίας παράστασιν, οὐχ ἡμεῖς ἀλλ' ἕτεροι
V f. 99v κύριοι, οἷς ἀνήκει δηλαδὴ τὰ κοινά. τὸ δ' ὅσον εἰς τὴν ὑπόμνησιν ὀκνῶ μὲν εἰπεῖν, ὡς ἐγχειρηθὲν οὐκ εὐτύχηται. ὁ δ' οὖν ἀδελφὸς προετρέπη τὸ πρὸς δύναμιν αὐθις ἐπιχειρήσαι· θεοῦ δὲ τὸ τέλος καὶ ἡ τῆς ἐφέσεως
10 πλήρωσις. ἀλλ' ὑμεῖς ἔρρωσθέ μοι καὶ χαίροιτε κοινῇ καὶ συγχαίροιτε, καὶ τοῦ ποτὲ γνωρίμου καὶ φίλου μνήμη τις ὑμῖν ἔτι σῶζοιτο.

59

νθ' Ἰκανῶς ἡμᾶς ἀνεκτήσαντο, μικροῦ τι λειποθυμούντας πρὸς τὴν τῶν κακῶν ἐπισύστασιν αἱ σοφαὶ σου καὶ θεῖαι καὶ χρησταὶ παρακλήσεις, ἃς ἐνέθου τοῖς γράμμασιν, ἐκ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ θησαυροῦ παλαιὰ παράγων καὶ νέα καὶ παντὶ θεραπείας καὶ ψυχαγωγίας χρώμενος τρόπῳ· ἀνθ' ὧν παρακα-
5 λέσοι καὶ σὲ ὁ ἐπαναπαυόμενός σοι καὶ ἐνοικῶν, οἶμαι δ' ὅτι καὶ ἔμπερ τα- τῶν διὰ τὴν εὐρυχωρίαν τῆς καθαρότητος καὶ τὸ πλάτος τῆς ἔνδον κατὰ τὴν καρδίαν ἐτοιμασίας. χάρις οὖν σοι μεγίστη τῶν τε ἄλλων καὶ τῆς ἀγάπης, ἣ κεφάλαιον οὖσα νόμου καὶ προφητῶν νῦν ἐν λίαν ὀλίγοις ἢ τυχόν οὐδὲ τοῦτο διὰ τὸ τῆς ἀνομίας πλήθος εὐρίσκεται. ἀλλὰ σὺ ταύτην
10 ὄλην ἐν σεαυτῷ μοι σῶξεις, καὶ σῶξε· καλὸν γὰρ τὸ χρῆμα καὶ ἄξιον τῶν
V f. 100r τῆς σῆς τιμίας ψυχῆς | ἀποθηκῶν καὶ ταμείων.

Ἄπεστάλη δὴ πάλιν καὶ πρὸς τὸν κοινὸν δεσπότην γραφή, ἣν τῇ πρὶν ἐκπεμφθεῖση παραπλησίως διευθέτησον ἡμῖν καὶ εὐόδωσον, καὶ εἴ τι πρὸς τούτοις ὁ ἐσταλμένος παρ' ἡμῶν ἐπετρέπη, τῆς σῆς ἐπὶ πᾶσι
15 συνεργίας ἀπολαυσάτω, ἵνα καὶ αὐτὸς τῆς πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀγαθῆς σου γνώμης καὶ διαθέσεως κήρυξ ἐπανέλθοι καὶ μάρτυς. τέλος δέ, τὸ πᾶν ἄκουε· ὁ θεὸς τῆς ἀγάπης ἀγαπήσειέ σε γνησίως καὶ ὡς φίλῳ πιστῷ καὶ ἀγαθῷ σοι θεράποντι τὴν ἑαυτοῦ χάρισταιτο χάριν.

58: 6-7 εἰς - κοινά: cf. CPG I 106, 266; II 76, 481

58: V 99^v A 273^v

5 ἔπει τοί γε scripsi: ἐπειτοίγε VA Lag || 8 εὐτύχηται: εὐτύχησεν A

59: 3 ἐκ - νέα: cf. Matth. 13, 52 || 8 ἦ - προφητῶν: cf. Matth. 22,40 || 9 διὰ - πλήθος: cf. Matth. 24: 12

59: V 99^v-100^r A 273^v-274^r

I Ἰκανῶς Lag: Ἰκανῶς VA

On the contrary, you interrupted me for speaking at length, just like in the past the Thebans stopped the Lacedaemonians who were brief in speech. Now I have no more leisure to talk at length, neither is there any time to articulate long discourses to you, the wise and fond of words; for there are other tasks that weigh upon me, now that in this place a tearful war is pressing hard and I must withstand it by all means at my disposal leaving me no leisure at all. Bygone are those discussions and discourses and the happy life, of which I am now deprived; it seems that they were a dream, and nothing more. But now this is «another way of life», a hard one, oh my studies and friends, «another mode of living», as it is said, in everything grievous, unpleasant and no longer endurable to me who has experienced it. But in these times of need I gained nothing, neither from my friends, nor —what was more offensive— from my very dear and especially beloved friend. He lives in comfort (and may he continue thus) and for himself he withholds his happiness, according to the wise tragic poet, and does not suffer to share the sufferings of his friend, neither does he extend a helping hand to him in distress. But which hand and of what kind and what is the sign of the help coming thence? May he prosper, my marvellous and dearest of friends, who is special to me now as in the past, the ornament of letters, the temple of wisdom, which she built for herself with love and toil. May I hear such tidings always about him, so that I may thereby feel better, drawing to myself and making my own the prosperity of my friend, since he does not make his own my ill fortune.

ξ' Ὑμεῖς δὲ τοῦναντίον ἡμᾶς μακρολογοῦντας ἐπαύσατε, ὥσπερ πάλαι
 Θηβαῖοι Λακεδαιμονίους βραχυλογοῦντας· οὐκέτι γὰρ ἡμῖν σχολή πολλὰ
 λέγειν, οὐδὲ πρὸς ὑμᾶς τοὺς σοφοὺς τε καὶ φιλολόγους μακροτέρους
 φθέγγεσθαι λόγους· ἄλλοι γὰρ ἐπείγουσι πόνοι, καὶ τῆδε νῦν ἔβρισε πολύ-
 5 δακρυς πόλεμος, πρὸς ὃν ἀντέχειν ἀνάγκη ὄλους ἑαυτοὺς πᾶσι τρόποις
 ἀπασχολοῦντας ἐνταῦθα. διατριβαὶ δ' ἐκεῖναι καὶ λόγοι καὶ μακάριος
 βίος, ὧν ἔστερήμεθα, χαιρέτωσαν ἤδη· ὄνειροι γὰρ ἦσαν, ὡς ἔοικε,
 V f. 100v καὶ οὐδὲν ἄλλο πλεόν. | τὰ δὲ νῦν ἄλλος βίος, χαλεπός, ὃ λόγοι καὶ φίλοι,
 ἄλλη, τὸ λεγόμενον, *δίατα*, λυπηρὰ τὸ καθ' ὄλου καὶ ἀηδῆς καὶ οὐκέτι
 10 φορητὴ τοῖς πειρωμένοις ἡμῖν. ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τῶν φίλων τι κέρδος ἐν ἀναγ-
 καίοις καιροῖς (τὸ περιπαθέστερον), ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τοῦ πάντων φίλτατου καὶ
 διαφερόντως ἡγαπημένου. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἐν ἀνέσει καὶ ἔστι καὶ εἴη καὶ
 μόνος τὸ χρηστὸν ἀπολαβὼν ἔχει, κατὰ τὴν σοφὴν τραγωδίαν, τῷ δὲ
 φίλῳ τῶν πόνων κοινωνεῖν οὐκ ἀνέχεται οὐδὲ χεῖρα παρέχειν ἀρωγὸν
 15 κάμνοντι· ἢ τίς ἐκεῖνη καὶ ποία; καὶ τί τὸ σημεῖον τῆς ἐκεῖθεν ἐπικου-
 ρίας; ζήτησιν οὖν ὁ θαυμάσιος καὶ φίλτατός μοι τῶν φίλων, ὁ καὶ πάλαι καὶ
 νῦν διαφερόντως ἐμός, τὸ τῶν λόγων ἄγαλμα, τῆς σοφίας ὁ οἶκος, ὃν αὐτὴ
 φιλοπόνως ἑαυτῇ ἔκδομήσῃ, καὶ ἀκουέσθω μοι οὕτω διὰ παντός περὶ
 20 τούτου, ἵνα ταύτη γοῦν ῥᾶων ἐμαυτοῦ γίνωμαι, τὴν εὐπραγίαν τοῦ φίλου
 πρὸς ἐμαυτὸν ἔγωγ' οὖν ἐπισπῶμένος τε καὶ οἰκειούμενος, ἐπεὶ μὴ ἐκεῖ-
 νος τὴν ἐμὴν δυσπραγίαν.

60: 1-2 ὥσπερ - βραχυλογοῦντας: cf. Plut. Moral. 193D; 545B || 4-5 τῆδε - πόλεμος: cf. Hom. Il. 17, 512 || 8-9 CPG I 7; II 142 || 13 μόνος - ἔχει: cf. Eur. Orest. 451 || 17-18 τῆς - ἐκδομήσῃ: cf. Prov. 9,1 || 19 τὴν - φίλου: cf. Eur. Orest. 450

60: V 100^v A 274^f-275^f

4 τῆδε scripsi: τῆδε VA Lag || 19 ταύτη scripsi: ταύτη VA Lag

61

[To Ioannes]

Oh wretched mind, why are you labouring so long, collecting fantasies, in order to catch that which has escaped you? It was a vision really, not a dream. For indeed, the friend's letter which was written a long time ago was a vision, as well as he who wrote it, that good and wise Ioannes. And behold I am now six months behind in writing back, because some other greater tasks were more pressing and since your friend was busy he did an injustice to friendship. Instead of writing back a long time ago and right away, I am doing it now after so long and delayed, on the one hand, because I forgot (for I shall not hide the truth), on the other, furthermore, because I was unable owing to misfortunes and to difficult circumstances. That the matter did not escape me altogether is to be appreciated. But forgive me for this delay, my dear friend, who has the same name as me, and do not fault me for my tardiness, but rather pity my misfortune, which has made it impossible to reply promptly to a letter from such a dear friend. For such a long time I have failed to get started in writing a letter. Yet be of good cheer and rejoice in the company of the blessed that surrounds you, and consider me, even though I am away in body, spiritually with you, both when I keep silent and when I write you, and whether I manifest my affection to you or not. Convey my friendship, please, to the other fellow *archons* and to the good and holy triad, to the one whom I suppose to be still a teacher and to that one and to the other one — I do not know how and in what manner to address these men, fearing lest the river of Heraclitus in the long interval has swept also those people towards another rank and order, while I have been sentenced to live in another world (perhaps in one of those worlds of Democritus), and on account of my removal, know almost nothing about your affairs. May the grace and the mercy of God be with your love.

61

<Τῷ Ἰωάννῃ>

V f. 101r ξα' Τί μακρὰ κάμνεις, λογισμὲ τλημονέστατε, | φαντασίας συλλέγων,
 ἵνα τὸ διαφυγόν σε θηράσης; ὕπαρ ὄντως, οὐκ ὄναρ, ὕπαρ ἦν ἀληθῶς ἡ
 5 Ἰωάννης. καὶ ἰδοὺ ἔκτον τοῦτον ἤδη που μῆνα ὕστερεῖ τὰ ἀντίγραφα·
 ἄλλοι γὰρ τινες πόνοι μείζονες ἤπειγον, καὶ ὑπ' ἀσχολίας ἠδίκησε τὴν
 φιλίαν ὁ φίλος, πάλαι δέον καὶ παραυτικά, νῦν ὄψε καὶ βράδιον ἀντιγρά-
 φων, ἅμα μὲν, ὅτι ἐξελάθητο (τὸ ἀληθὲς γὰρ οὐκ ἀποκρύψομαι), τὸ δὲ
 πλέον ἀδυνατῶν ὑπὸ συμφορῶν τε καὶ περιστάσεων. ὅτι δ' οὖν οὐ διέφυ-
 10 γεν εἰς τέλος, ἀγαπητέον. ἀλλὰ μοι συγγνώμην ἔχε τῆς ὑπερημερίας, ὁ
 ἠγαπημένος ὁμώνυμος, καὶ μηδὲν τι μέμφου τῆς βραδυτῆτος, ἀλλὰ τοῦ
 πάθους οἴκτειρε μᾶλλον, ὕφ' οὐ μηδὲ τοῖς οὕτω φιλτάτοις ἔστι κατὰ
 καιρὸν ἀποκρίνεσθαι· τοσοῦτον ἐλλείπομεν λόγου προκατάρχειν αὐτοί.
 15 ἀπόντα τῷ σώματι τῆ γούν ψυχῇ συνεῖναι λογίζεσθε καὶ σιγῶντα καὶ γρά-
 V f. 101v φοντα, καὶ δεικνύντα τὸ φίλτρον εἴτε καὶ μή. | προσειρήσθωσαν δέ σοι τὰ
 φιλικὰ παρ' ἡμῶν οἷ τε ἄλλοι συνάρχοντες καὶ ἡ καλὴ τριάς καὶ ἀγία, ὁ
 ἔτι οἶμαι διδάσκαλος ὁ δεῖνά τε καὶ ὁ δεῖνα — οὐκ οἶδα πόθεν καὶ πῶς
 προσαγορεύσω τοὺς ἄνδρας, τὸν Ἡρακλείτειον δεδοικῶς ποταμόν, μῆ-
 20 ποτε κάκείνους ἐν τοσοῦτῳ παρέσυρεν εἰς ἑτέραν κλησιν καὶ τάξιν, ἡμῶν
 ἐν ἑτέρῳ κόσμῳ, ἐνὶ τυχὸν τῶν Δημοκριτείων, κατακεκριμένων διάγειν,
 καὶ τὰ καθ' ὑμᾶς μικροῦ τι παντάπασι διὰ τὸν ἐκτοπισμὸν ἀγνοούντων. ἡ
 χάρις τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὸ ἔλεος μετὰ τῆς ἀγάπης ὑμῶν.

61: 3 ὕπαρ - ὄναρ: cf. Hom. Od. 19, 547; 20, 90 || 19 τὸν - ποταμόν: cf. Heracl. B 91 || 20-21 ἡμῶν - Δημοκριτείων: cf. Democ. B 117

61: V 100^v-101^v A 275^v-276^v

I titulum ex linea 5 infra supplevi || 12 ἔστι Lag: ἔστι VA || 20 παρέσυραν A || 21 ἐν ante ἐνὶ add. A

62

Neither should I overlook the dearest of all my friends, I mean the most holy and wise teachers, that is my very own and my very own. The one because his school became the guide and mentor of my studies, the other because the holy one is my friend, no doubt about it, and he is the foundation of the school. For these reasons, therefore, the two are friends of mine, but also because of the affection which comes from a friendship that dates from farther back. I address both of you then with this same letter, because I have no leisure at this time, nor is there any need, anyway, to write to each of you separately. For even if it is not addressed to one person, the message nonetheless is sent by one only; therefore, for the time being, let this single letter suffice for both of you. Perhaps, God willing, I shall write sometime not only to each of you separately, but to each of my other friends as well. In the meantime, farewell and rejoice in each other, remembering me from time to time as a former associate and friend of all of you, together and each of you separately.

63

The royal ornament should decorate the Queen City, therefore she keeps you, as she should, in her bosom together with your virtues, eloquence, and your other good qualities, with which you have been properly enriched by divine grace. As for me, she has thrown me away as vile rubbish and rejected me as if I were some refuse or foam as a sea wave does. But since friends share their possessions, I share your prosperity and regard myself as a partaker of your glory and other success. Share with your distant friends—as much as is proper—the cares and adversities of this place «and do not hold on to happiness only for yourself», as the tragic poet says, but take part to some extent in the tribulations of your friend, so that you may be just in every respect, treating friendship and friends with justice and equality. And may your prosperity abide with you even longer so that you may accomplish more good, and still more may it not be taken away but remain with you eternally, even when you pass from this prosperity to that in the life hereafter.

62

ξβ' Οὐδὲ τοὺς φιλτάτους ἐν ἅπασιν τοῖς φίλοις παραδραμοῦμαι, τοὺς ἁγιο-
 ωτάτους φημί καὶ σοφωτάτους μαῖστωρας, ἥτοι τὸν ἐμόν τε καὶ τὸν ἐμόν·
 τὸν μὲν, ὅτι καὶ τῶν λόγων τῶν ἡμετέρων ἢ ἐκείνου σχολῆ καθηγεμῶν
 καὶ διδάσκαλος, τὸν δέ, ὅτι ἐμὸς ἀναμφιλέκτως ὁ ἅγιος, ᾧ τὸ κατ' αὐτὸν
 5 ἀνάκειται παιδευτήριον. ἐμοὶ τοίνυν ἄμφω καὶ διὰ ταῦτα, πρὸς δέ, καὶ διὰ
 τὴν ἄνωθεν ἐκ φιλίας οἰκείωσιν. προσείρησθε δὴ μοι τὴν αὐτὴν ἀμφοτέ-
 V f. 102r ροι πρόσρησιν, ἐπεὶ πρὸς ἑκάτερον γράφειν διηρημένως νῦν ἰ οὐ σχολή,
 ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἄλλως ἀνάγκη τις· καὶ γὰρ εἰ καὶ μὴ πρὸς ἕνα, ἀλλὰ παρ' ἐνός
 γοῦν ἢ πρόσρησις, ὥστε τοῖς δυσὶν ἀρκεσάτω πρὸς γε τὸ παρὸν καὶ ἡ μία·
 10 τάχα δ' ἂν ποτε θεοῦ παρασχόντος, οὐ πρὸς ἑκάτερον μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ
 πρὸς ἕκαστον ἤδη καὶ τῶν ἄλλων γράψομεν φίλων. τέως δ' οὖν ἔρρωσθέ
 μοι καὶ ἀλλήλοις ἅμα συγχαίρετε, μνήμην καὶ ἡμῶν εἰς καιρὸν τῶν ποτὲ
 συνήθων καὶ φίλων κοινῆ τε καὶ ἰδίᾳ λαμβάνοντες.

63

ξγ' Ἔδει τὸ βασιλεῖον ἄγαλμα τὴν βασιλίδα πόλιν κοσμεῖν· διὰ τοῦτο σε
 μὲν, ὡς ἔπρεπεν, ἐγκόλπιον ἔχει μετὰ τῶν ἀρετῶν καὶ τῶν λόγων καὶ τῶν
 ἄλλων καλῶν, οἷς ἢ θεία σε χάρις ἀξιοπρεπῶς κατεπλούτισεν, ἡμᾶς δὲ
 μακρὰν ἀπεσκυβάλισε καὶ ἀπέρριψεν ὥσανεὶ συρφετόν τινα καὶ ἄχνην,
 5 κῦμα θαλάσσιον. ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ τὰ φίλων κοινά, κοινοποιῶμαι μὲν ἔγωγε τὴν
 σὴν εὐπραγίαν καὶ τῆς τε δόξης μετέχειν ἡγοῦμαι καὶ τῆς ἄλλης εὐημε-
 ρίας· κοινῶν δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ὅσα δεῖ τῶν ἐνταῦθα φροντίδων καὶ περιστά-
 σεων τοῖς σοῖς ἀποδήμοις καὶ μὴ μόνος τὸ χρῆσθον ἀπολαβὼν ἔχε, τοῦτο δὴ
 V f. 102v τὸ τῶν τραγῳδῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν πόνων ἐν μέρει συναντιλαμβάνου τῷ
 10 φίλῳ, ἵνα καθ' ὅλου δίκαιος ἦς, δικαίως καὶ ἴσως διαιτῶν φιλίᾳ καὶ
 φίλοις. καὶ σοὶ παραμείνοι τὸ εὐπραγεῖν χρονωτέρον, ὡς καὶ εὐδράσης
 πλειῶ, μᾶλλον δὲ ἀναφαίρετον καὶ ἀϊδίον σοὶ προσεῖη μετὰ τὴν ἐντεῦθεν
 εὐημερίαν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκεῖ διαβάanti.

62: 3-4 ὅτι - διδάσκαλος: cf. Greg. Naz. Orat. XLIII, 13 (PG 36, 512 A)

62: V 101^v-102^r A 276^v

11 γράψομεν Lag: γράψομεν VA || 13 κοινῆ scripsi: κοινῆ VA Lag | ἰδίᾳ scripsi: ἰδίᾳ VA Lag

63: 5 τὰ - κοινά: cf. CPG I 106, 266; II 76, 481 || 8 Eur. Orest. 451

63: V 102^v A 276^v-277^r Ed. Gallay, Saint Grégoire de Nazianze Lettres, I, 109-110

[To the Patriarch]

My holy Lord, thou art indeed more than holy. I imagine that my Lord is wondering why and how your servant has remained silent for so long. But if the spirit of God which dwells in him and his gift of insight would have deemed it worthy to pay some slight attention to this remote place, and would have realized the troubles which I have encountered right from the first moment and almost before I set foot on the ground of this place, I think, on the contrary, he would wonder how I am now able to utter a word; because as if by prearrangement, I had just barely recovered from the toils of the journey, having spent almost two months on the road, when I was immediately met by assaults of winds, enveloped by hurricanes and storms of evil, the sea of trials swelling up against me, perils and calamities confronting me from all sides. These descended upon me all of a sudden and at once so that I lost my senses (to speak the truth), struck by the unforeseen disillusionment of my hopes. I lost not only my wits, as I had thought, but also the sense that I was alive — in such a manner I was carried off and swept completely away by these adversities, miserable, inexperienced, untrained, unprepared for such evils until I was finally thrown into an ocean of the utmost apathy and despondency, so that I can also cite quite truthfully the scriptural «I have come into deep waters and the flood sweeps over me». This then is the reason why «I have been speechless and humbled» until now and why «I kept complete silence, even from good», that is with regard to the letters which I owe from long ago to my Lord.

But now, I do not know how, being relieved by the holy prayers of my Lord, which I have received as a protection against any evil, I was able at last, after almost six months, to hold my head above the waves for a while, in control of myself again and having regained my senses. And as soon as I threw off the sea-water taking a deep breath and rubbed the shock from my eyes, at first I was

<Τῷ Πατριάρχει>

- ξδ' Δέσποτά μου ἅγιε καὶ εἶ τι πλέον ἁγίου, οἶμαι τὸν ἐμὸν δεσπότην θαυμάζειν τίνος χάριν καὶ πῶς ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ὑπέμεινεν ὁ δοῦλος σιγῆσαι. ἀλλ' εἰ τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ θεοῦ τὸ ἐνοικοῦν ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ διορατικὸν αὐτοῦ
- 5 χάρισμα ἐπιστραφῆναι βραχύ τι καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἐσχατιὰν ἠξίωσε ταύτην καὶ τοὺς ἐνταῦθα κλύδωνας ἔγνω, οἷς ἡμεῖς ἐνετύχομεν παρὰ τὴν πρῶτην εὐθύς πρὶν ἢ σχεδὸν ἀμφοτέρους τοὺς πόδας εἰς τὸ τῆς χώρας ἔδαφος θεῖναι, τοῦναντίον ἂν οἶμαι μᾶλλον ἐθαύμασε πῶς καὶ νῦν ἠδυνήθημεν ἀφεῖναι φωνήν, ἐπειδὴ καθάπερ ἀπὸ συνθήματος αὐτός τε ἄρτι τῶν πόνων
- V f. 103r τῆς ὁδοιπορίας ἔληξα μόλις, διὰ διμήνου μικροῦ τὴν μεταξὺ | διοδεύσας, καὶ παραχρῆμα πνευμάτων ἐμβολαὶ προσυπήντησαν, καὶ καταγίδες καὶ λαίλαπες κακῶν περιέσχον, ἢ τε θάλασσα τῶν πειρασμῶν ἡμῖν ἐπωρύετο καὶ συμφορῶν ἡμᾶς κίνδυνοι πανταχόθεν περιεδόνησαν· ἄπερ οὕτως ἀθρόα μοι καὶ κατὰ ταῦτόν προσπεσόντα ἐμαυτοῦ τε ἐξέστησαν, τὸ ἀλη-
- 15 θές γὰρ ἔρω, τῷ αἰφνιδίῳ πληγέντα καὶ τῷ παρὰ πολὺ τῶν ἐλπίδων. καὶ οὐ τοῦ φρονεῖν, ὡς ἔδοξα, μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ζῆν ἐπιλελησμένος, ἀπηνέχθη ὑπ' ἐκείνων ὄλος καὶ παρεσύρην ἄθλιος, ἀήθης, ἀγύμναστος, ἀμελέτητος τοιούτων κακῶν, καὶ τέλος εἰς πέλαγος ἀκηδίας ἐσχάτης ἀπερρίφην καὶ ἀθυμίας, ὡς κἀμὲ λέγειν ἔχειν τὸ γραφικὸν φιλαλήθως
- 20 ἦλθον εἰς τὰ βάθη τῆς θαλάσσης, καὶ καταγίς κατεπόντισέ με. διὰ τοῦτο οὖν ἐκωφώθη καὶ ἐταπεινώθη ἄχρι τοῦ νῦν, καὶ ἐσίγησα τελέως ἐξ ἀγαθῶν, τῶν ὀφειλομένων καὶ πάλαι δηλαδὴ τούτων πρὸς τὸν ἐμὸν δεσπότην γραμμάτων.
- V f. 103v 'Αλλὰ νῦν οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως ὑπὸ τῶν δεσποτικῶν καὶ ἁγίων εὐχῶν |
- 25 ἐπικουφισθεῖς, ἄς ἐφόδιον εἴληφα κακοῦ παντός ἀποτρόπαιον, ὀψέ ποτε καὶ μόλις δι' ἑξαμήνου ὑπερκῦψαι τοῦ κλύδωνος μικρὸν ἐδυνήθη, ἐν ἐμαυτῷ τε γενόμενος τῇ τῶν λογισμῶν ἐπανόδῳ, καὶ λάβρω μὲν ἄσθματι τὴν ἄλμην ἀποφυσήσας, τὸν δὲ ἄλυν τῶν ὄψεων ὡς εἶχον ἀποσεισάμενος

64: 4 ἀλλ' - αὐτῷ: cf. Rom. 8,11 || 20 Ps. 68,3 || 21 Ps. 38,3 || 28 τὴν - ἀποφυσήσας: cf. Hom. II. 4, 426

64: V 102^v-105^r A 277^r-278^r

I titulum ex linea 2 infra supplevi || 4 εἰ: ὁ A || 7 ἔδαφος Lag: ἔδαφος V || 17 ὄλος cum ος supra ως scripto A || 21 ἄχρι: ἕως in textu, ἄχρι marg A

able to see a little although rather poorly and weakly but then I saw right away my Lord and leader just like another Jesus Christ walking safely above the waves. For my Lord himself has not been free of trials, even if the nobility and the piety of his great soul, no matter what the pressure, would ever surrender its impassibility. But your servant is still swept by the currents of the waves and is greatly exhausted both in body and soul; he imitates the distressed Peter in the sea and shouts to his Saviour and teacher — «Lord save me». Salvation is attained through prayer, for I know that even «the sea and the winds», according to the Scripture, «yield» to prayer. Let the sea winds then that engulf me be rebuked and let also the storm of evils, which has already begun to settle and calm down, become a breeze, by transforming its bitterness and fierceness remarkably into mildness.

To write down each one of my difficulties in a letter I consider bothersome and unnecessary, since he who shall be dispatched to you as soon as possible shall very shortly tell you everything more clearly. The essential point in my letter is the salutation of my Lord from your servant, my respect which is due to you now as in the past, my thanksgiving for many things, my acknowledgment for everything. However, if, as is natural for a benevolent and affectionate Lord, you wish meanwhile to learn something about this place here more plainly, I can explain everything briefly. The church and the people which your holy hands and the grace of the Spirit through them allotted me seem excellent and beautiful. For they are, one can say, fairly pious and are already or are becoming well-instructed. Moreover, by the grace and the assent of God and the great help derived from the prayers of my Lord, no one of them, either at the beginning or now, thought to treat your envoy with unfriendliness or to consider him as a trouble and a burden. On the contrary, everybody heard and accepted the election and the elected one with pleasure and they display such great love to me as if they had grown up and lived together with me from childhood. Apart from this, the land is very desolate, uninhabited, unpleasant and without trees, vegetation, woods, or shade, a total wilderness full of neglect, exceedingly bereft of fame and glory. It abounds, however, in the production of grain, although this also is achieved with much toil, but with regard to wine and oil and next to such products, the land is unfortunate owing to its utter poverty and want. I shall also add that it lacks fruit and fish and in addition anything that comforts people like me who are ill, as well as that which is necessary for the enjoyment of a sumptuous table.

30 ἐνέβλεψά τι βραχὺ καὶ ἀσθενὲς καὶ λεπτὸν καὶ τὸν ἕμὸν δεσπότην καὶ ἀρχηγὸν εὐθὺς εἶδον ὡσπερ ἕτερον Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν ἀσφαλῶς ὑπὲρ κυμάτων πεζεύοντα. οὐδὲ γὰρ αὐτὸς ὁ δεσπότης μου τὸ ἀπείραστον ἔσχε, κἂν τὸ γένναίον καὶ ἔνθεον τῆς αὐτοῦ μεγάλης ψυχῆς οὐδὲν οὐδ' ἐν περιστάσεσι καθυφῆκε τῆς ἀπαθείας. ἀλλ' ὁ δοῦλος ἔτι φερόμενος ἐν τοῖς τῶν κυμάτων διαύλοις καὶ κάμνων καὶ σώμα καὶ ψυχὴν ἱκανῶς τὸν χειμαζόμενον Πέτρον ἐν πελάγει μιμεῖται, καὶ *Κύριε σῶσόν με* πρὸς τὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ σωτήρα καὶ διδάσκαλον κράζει· ἡ σωτηρία δὲ δι' εὐχῶν, αἷς οἶδ' ὅτι καὶ ἡ θάλασσα καὶ οἱ ἄνεμοι κατὰ τὸ ῥητὸν ὑπακούουσιν. ἐπιτιμησάτωσαν οὖν καὶ τοῖς καθ' ἡμᾶς τούτοις πνεύμασι, καὶ στήτω εἰς αὐραν ἡ καταγιγῆς τῶν τῆδε | κακῶν, ἀρξαμένη καὶ ἤδη πῶς ἡρέμα καταστορένυσθαι καὶ τὸ V f. 104r
40 πικρὸν ἐκτόπως καὶ ἄγριον εἰς τὸ ἠπιώτερον μεταβάλλειν.

Τούτων δὲ τὰ καθ' ἕκαστα τῆ γραφῆ μὲν ἐντάττειν φορτικὸν ἡγοῦμαι καὶ περιττόν, ἐρεῖ δὲ τὰ πάντα σαφέστερον ὁ μικρὸν ὅσον ὅσον ἐντεῦθεν ἐκπεμφθῆσόμενος· τῆ γραφῆ δὲ κεφάλαιον ἡ δουλικὴ προσαγόρευσις, ἡ καὶ πάλαι καὶ νῦν ὀφειλομένη προσκύνησις, ὁ ἐπὶ πολλοῖς χαριστήριος, 45 ἡ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἀνθομολόγησις. εἰ δ' ὡσπερ εἰκὸς ἐστὶ δεσπότην ἀγαθὸν καὶ φιλόστοργον, ἥδη τι κελεύεις εἰδέναι καὶ τῶν τῆδε τρανότερον, ἐν βραχεῖ γνωρίζω τὸ πᾶν. ἡ μὲν ἐκκλησία καὶ ὁ λαός, ὃν αἱ ἅγιοι χεῖρες καὶ ἡ χάρις τοῦ πνεύματος δι' αὐτῶν ἡμῖν ἀπεκλήρωσαν, ἄριστά τε δοκοῦσιν ἔχειν καὶ κάλλιστα· αὐτοὶ τε γάρ, ὡς εἶπεῖν, εὐλαβεῖς ἐπικεικῶς καὶ εὐπαί- 50 δευτοὶ εἰσὶ τε καὶ γίνονται, καὶ τὸν παρ' ὑμῶν ἐσταλμένον οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν χάριτι καὶ νεύσει θεοῦ καὶ τῆ τῶν εὐχῶν τοῦ δεσπότητος μεγάλῃ συναντι- V f. 104v
λήψει οὔτε τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀηδῶς ἰδεῖν ἔδοξεν οὔτε νῦν ἐπαχθῶς | καὶ φορτικῶς θεωρεῖ· ἀλλ' ὡς ἥδιστα πάντες καὶ τὴν προχείρισιν ἤκουσαν καὶ τὸν προχειρισθέντα ἐδέξαντο, καὶ ὡς ἐξ ἔτι παιδῶν ἡμῖν συναυξηθέντες καὶ 55 συντραφέντες οὕτως ἕκαστος αὐτῶν ὑπεραγαπᾷ. περαιτέρω δὲ τούτων, ἐρημία χώρας πολλή, ἀοίκητος, ἄχαρις, ἀδενδρος, ἄγλος, ἄξυλος, ἄσκιος, ἀγριότητος ὄλη καὶ ἀκηδίας μεστή, πολὺ καὶ τῆς φήμης καὶ τῆς δόξης ἐνδέουσα· ἀπὸ καρποῦ σίτου μὲν, κἂν σὺν πολλοῖς καὶ τοῦτο καμά- 60 τοις, εὐθηνουμένη δ' οὖν ὄμως, οἴνου δὲ καὶ ἐλαίου, τῶν ἐξῆς ἐπιφερομένων, ἀπορίαν καὶ ἐνδειαν παντελῆ δυστυχοῦσα. προσθήσω δὲ καὶ ὀπώρας καὶ ἰχθύων πρὸς ἔτι καὶ ὅσα νοσοῦσιν ἀνθρώποις καθ' ἡμᾶς εἰς παραμυθίαν ἢ καὶ ἄλλως τοῖς εὐτραπέζοις εἰς ἀπόλαυσιν ἐπιτήδεια.

30-31 ὑπὲρ - πεζεύοντα: cf. Matth. 14,26 || 35 Matth. 14,30 || 37 Matth. 8,27

31 κἂν Lag: κἂν VA || 39 τῆδε scripsi: τῆδε V Lag || 46 τῆδε scripsi: τῆδε V Lag

But in place of all these deficiencies the great riches and treasure, that is the blessing of my Lord and his prayers, will suffice for me, for I simply desire this more than every human happiness. If these are with me, I have hardly any care for want of anything else. For these then I beg you and these I ask, having all confidence and trust in the benevolence of your holiness that you shall not deprive your servant of this great gift, as you have not deprived him of any other gift, whether requested or not.

65

[To the Same]

My holy Lord, who art near to God, having just chanced upon a letter carrier coming on this road and making his way to the Queen City, I am having him convey to my Lord for the second time the salutation of his servant, snatching the opportunity as an unexpected piece of luck with great pleasure and astonishment. For indeed, I consider it worthy of a miracle not only that this blessed man is pious and just (a very rare trait among people nowadays), but because he is such a person, he passed through here near us, in this remote exile, which scarcely allows any traveller to descend to it, unless perhaps he is some scourge-bearing official or tax-collector or army recruiter or herald of some other new kind of devilment. For such things thrive abundantly here. But he gratified the others as well according to their needs by burdening no one during this troublesome season, but on the contrary, he rather relieved us and in addition to these, he benefited me personally and what is more, through him I was able to convey in this letter my humble salutation to my holy Lord and Chief Shepherd. Once again I pay my respects to you and once again I salute you, for this is, if anything is, wise to render to our lords and masters the gift of honour without any reservation even in a time of tribulations. For the rest, he shall instruct you and inform you with accuracy, having himself seen and witnessed my situation here.

Ἄλλ' ἀντι πάντων τούτων τῶν ἐλλειμμάτων ὁ μέγας πλοῦτος ἡμῖν καὶ
θησαυρὸς ἐξαρκέσει, ἢ δεσποτικὴ εὐλογία δῆλον ὅτι καὶ ἡ εὐχὴ, ὧν
65 ὀρέγομαι μᾶλλον ἢ πάσης ἀπλῶς τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης εὐδαιμονίας, καὶ ὧν
V f. 105r μοι παρόντων ἤκιστα τινος ἄλλου τῶν ἀπόντων φροντίς, ὑπὲρ τούτων
οὖν δέομαι καὶ ταύτας αἰτῶ, πάνυ πεποιθῶς καὶ θαρρῶν τῇ τῆς σῆς ἀγιο-
σύνης χρηστότητι, ὡς οὐδὲ τῆς μεγίστης με ταύτης δωρεᾶς τὸν δοῦλον
ἀποστερήσει, ὥσπερ οὖν οὐδ' ἄλλης τινὸς ἢ αἰτηθείσης ἢ μηδ' αἰτηθεί-
70 σης ἐστέρησεν.

65

<Τῷ αὐτῷ>

ξε' Δέσποτά μου ἄγιε καὶ πλησίον θεοῦ, μόλις διὰ ταύτης ὀδεύοντι
γραμματοφόρῳ περιτυχόντες καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὴν βασιλεύουσαν τέμνοντι,
δι' αὐτοῦ τῷ δεσπότη μου δουλικὴν τοῦτο δεύτερον ἀποδιδόαμεν πρόσ-
5 ρησιν, ἀρπάσαντες τὸ πρᾶγμα ὡς ἔρμαιον σὺν ἡδονῇ μεγίστη καὶ θαύμα-
τι· καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἄξιον ἡγοῦμεθα θαύματος οὐχ ὅτι μόνον εὐσεβῆς τε καὶ
δίκαιος ὁ εὐλογημένος ἄνθρωπος οὗτος, τὸ ἐν ἀνθρώποις σήμερον σπα-
νιώτατον, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ τοιοῦτος ὧν, δι' ἡμῶν ἐνταῦθα παρῶδευσεν, οἷς ὁ
ἄτοπος οὗτος ἐκτοπισμὸς ὀλίγου δεῖν οὐδένα τῶν ὀδοιπόρων ἐπικαταί-
10 ρειν ἐᾷ, εἰ μὴ που μαστιγοφόρος ἄρχων τις εἶη ἢ φορολόγος ἢ στρατευ-
τῆς ἢ καινῶν τινῶν ἄλλων δαιμονίων καταγγελεύς· ἐν γὰρ τοῖς τοιούτοις
V f. 105v καὶ λίαν εὐθηνεῖται τὰ καθ' ἡμᾶς. ὁ δὲ τοὺς τε ἄλλους ἐν καιροῖς λυπη-
ροῖς τὰ εἰκότα πρὸς τὴν χρεῖαν ἐψυχαγώγησε τῷ τε μὴ βαρῦναι μηδένα
καὶ τῷ μᾶλλον προσελαφρῦναι, καὶ ἡμᾶς δὲ προσέτι τοῦτοις τε αὐτοῖς εὐ-
15 πεοίηκε, καὶ τὸ μείζον, ὅτι τὸν ἡμέτερον ἅγιον δεσπότην καὶ ἀρχιποί-
μενα δι' αὐτοῦ τὰ δουρικὰ προσεπειεῖν ἐν τοῖς παροῦσιν ἔσχομεν γράμ-
μασι. προσκυνοῦμεν οὖν πάλιν, καὶ πάλιν προσαγορευόμεν, ἐπειδήπερ
καὶ τοῦτο, εἰ τι ἄλλο, φιλοσοφία, τὸ κἂν τοῖς πειρασμοῖς οὐδὲν ἔλαττον
τοῖς δεσπότης καὶ ἄρχουσι τὸ τῆς τιμῆς ἀπονέμειν γέρας ἀνυστερήτως.
20 αὐτὸς δὲ τᾶλλα διδάξει καὶ γνωρίσει σὺν ἀκριβείᾳ αὐτόπτης τε ὁμοῦ καὶ
αὐτήκοος γεγωνῶς ἀπάντων τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς.

65: 11 καινῶν - καταγγελεύς: cf. Acta 17, 18 || 17-19 ἐπειδήπερ - ἀνυστερήτως: cf. Joh. Chrys. Exp. in Ps. 43, 21 (PG 55, 180A)

65: V 105^{r-v}

1 Titulum ex linea 2 sqq. infra supplevi || 18 κἂν Lag

[To the Same]

My holy Lord, you are beyond any honoured and glorious salutation. May the oil of exultation —with which God has anointed you above your fellows— anoint you, my Lord, in the same way that your divine letter enriched these dry bones of my own worthlessness; for it appeared to me sweeter and even more well-timed than the dew of Hermon in the Psalm which falls on the mountains of Zion, and I esteemed it more than the rain upon the pastures and even more than those showers upon the grass. That the holy and pure delivered holy and pure gifts to me I regard clearly as an act beyond my own worthiness and of greater value and fragrance than the precious oil that adorns the beard of the archpriest and the collar of his robes. In return for this may grace and mercy come upon my Lord and chief Shepherd, my benefactor in many ways. Anything greater than this I cannot render in return for his good will towards me the least of all.

But since the one who has arrived from there is for this very purpose present here, he shall personally add whatever is missing in the letter, and explain everything that concerns me, if indeed he is ordered to do so; he shall recount the affairs of the church and moreover testify openly before my fellow servants and brothers there —especially if some of them, as it is likely, are enticed by this false prosperity— «lest they also come into this place of torment» after my own departure from here, (howsoever and whenever this might be). Instead, by considering the reality more than the glory of the title, they may be safe from such lures, just as my fellow servant, the *chartophylax*, who, having shown more wisdom and prudence than I, and on the pretext of piety and contempt of glory, stayed «out of the arrows' reach», appearing more distinguished and noble.

<Τῷ αὐτῷ>

ξς' Δέσποτά μου ἅγιε καὶ πέρα πάσης ἐντίμου καὶ δεδοξασμένης προσηγορίας, οὕτω καὶ τὸν ἅγιόν μου δεσπότην λιπάνοι τὸ τῆς ἀγαλλίασεως ἔλαιον, ὅπερ ὁ θεὸς αὐτὸν ἔχρισε παρὰ τοὺς μετόχους αὐτοῦ, ὡς ἡ θεία
5 γραφή σου τὰ ξηρὰ ὄστ' αὐτὰ τῆς ἑμῆς ἐλίπανεν οὐθενείας ἡδυτέρα
V f. 106r φανεῖσά μοι καὶ σφόδρα κατὰ καιρὸν ὑπὲρ τὴν ψαλμικὴν ἐκείνην δρόσον τὴν Ἀερμών τὴν ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη Σιών καταβαίνουσιν καὶ ὑπὲρ τὸν ὄμβρον τὸν ἐπ' ἄγρωσιν δόξασα καὶ ὑπὲρ τὸν νιφετὸν ἐκείνον τὸν ἐπὶ χόρτον. ὅτι δὲ καὶ δῶρα προσέθηκεν ὁ ἅγιος ἅγια καὶ ὁ καθαρὸς καθάρᾳ,
10 τοῦτο ἦδη σαφῶς ὑπὲρ τὴν ἀξίαν τὴν ἡμετέραν, καὶ μύρου τοῦ κοσμοῦντος ἀρχιερέως τε πώγωνα καὶ ὄψαν ἐνδύματος πολὺ τιμιώτερον καὶ εὐωδέστερον ἔμοιγε, ἀνθ' ὧν εἶη χάρις καὶ ἔλεος τῷ ἑμῷ δεσπότη καὶ ἀρχιποίμενι καὶ πολλαχῶς εὐεργέτη· τούτου γὰρ οὐδὲν ἔχω μεῖζον τῆς περὶ ἑμὲ τὸν ἐλάχιστον ἀντιπαρασχεῖν εὐμενείας.
15 Ἐπει δ' ὁ ἐντεῦθεν νῦν ἀφιγμένος ἐπ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο πάρεστιν, αὐτὸς παρ' ἑαυτοῦ τὰ ἐλλείποντα προσθήσει τῷ γράμματι, τὰ καθ' ἡμᾶς τε πάντα διασαφήσας, εἴπερ ἄρα καὶ προσταχθεῖη, καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν διηγησάμενος, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τοῖς αὐτόθι μου συνδούλοις καὶ ἀδελφοῖς διαμαρτυράμενος ἄντικρυς, εἴ τινες αὐτῶν, ὡς εἰκός, πρὸς τὴν ψευδομένην ταύτην εὐημερίαν ὑπολιχνεύονται, ἵνα μὴ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔλθωσιν εἰς τὸν τόπον τοῦτον τῆς βασάνου μετὰ τὴν ἡμῶν ἐντεῦθεν μετὰστασιν τὴν ὁποιοῦν τε καὶ ὀτεδήποτε, ἀλλὰ τῷ πράγματι προσέχοντες μᾶλλον ἢ τῷ ὀνόματι ἀσφαλέστερον ἔχωσι πρὸς τὰ τοιαῦτα δελέατα, ὡς καὶ ὁ σύνδουλός μου ὁ χαρτοφύλαξ σοφώτερόν τι φρονήσας ἢ κατ' ἑμὲ καὶ ἐν εὐλαβείας προσχήματι καὶ τῆς περὶ δόξαν ὑπεροψίας μείνας ἔξω βελῶν ἐπιδοξότερός τε καὶ τιμιώτερος.

66: 3-4 τὸ - αὐτοῦ: cf. Ps. 44,8 || 6-7 δρόσον - καταβαίνουσιν: cf. Ps. 132,3 || 7-9 ὑπὲρ-χόρτον: cf. Deut. 32,2 || 10-12 τοῦτο - ἔμοιγε: cf. Greg. Naz. Orat. XI, 1 (PG 35,832C) || 11 πώγωνα - ἐνδύματος: cf. Ps. 132,2 || 20-21 Luc. 16,28 || 25 Karathanasis 90-91

66: V 105^r-106^r

I Titulum ex linea 2 sqq. infra supplevi

But truly, I have faith in the divine effectiveness of the prayers of my Lord and I have great confidence in them, that my faith shall rescue me from these evils here and that it shall deliver your servant —«whether in the body, I do not know or out of the body, I do not know»— from these daily deaths. May I be deemed then again worthy of your holy response, for I am thirsting with a burning desire for it, as well as for the greatest of all the gifts, the prayers, honoured by God, of my great and divine Lord, to whom I have written again as a humble servant.

67

Predicting that the future would not be good, my holy lord, my friend and brother, when I bid farewell just as I was departing, if you have not forgotten, I foretold that my letters would come late because the situation would be rough. Having encountered an even worse situation than I had suspected, I naturally answered your letter later than I had intended, always hoping for some respite and a change for the better, so that I might write something more pleasant instead of the very reverse. Now, as soon as I had —not what I yearn after, for that is still far away— some eager desire and a faint initiative to write, thanks to divine mercy, and as I had begun to believe that I saw him already rising up in the splendor of the sun, I became somewhat more cheerful and breathed with relief, and immediately I recalled with gratitude my debt and I render with eagerness —even if I am overdue— to my Lord, my worship, and to my friend, my greetings; to both I make known through my letter, to the one that my trust is steadfast and to the other, that my love is unchanged. Let your perfection then be addressed with these words and let it accept this most justified debt of love. With regard to our holy and blessed lord, it is now your task and the duty of truly sincere friendship, to arrange everything perfectly and in accordance with my wish, that is, my apology for failing to write earlier, the presentation of this letter, the acceptance of this very trifling offering that I am sending along, and eventually the highly esteemed letter of his response. Having all this been arranged well and in a manner worthy of pure friendship, may it prosper in all kinds of deeds that are for the common good and pleasant before God and may all the best be with you now and stay with you always present from the God of the righteous, for you are yourself righteous above all others.

Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ πιστεύω τῇ θείᾳ τῶν δεσποτικῶν εὐχῶν ἐνεργείᾳ καὶ θαρρεῖν ἐπ' αὐταῖς ἔχω σφόδρα, ὡς ἡ πίστις μου σώσει με τῶν ἐνταῦθα κακῶν, καὶ (εἴτε ἐν σώματι οὐκ οἶδα, εἴτε ἐκτὸς τοῦ σώματος οὐκ οἶδα)
30 ἀπαλλάξει τὸν δοῦλόν σου τῶν καθ' ἡμέραν τούτων θανάτων. πάλιν οὖν ἀντιγράφων ἀγίων ἀξιοθήτω ὁ περικαῶς οὕτω ταῦτα διψῶν καὶ τοῦ πάντων δωρημάτων μείζονος δώρου, τῶν θεοτιμῆτων εὐχῶν τοῦ μεγάλου καὶ ἐνθέου δεσπότη μου, πρὸς ὃν ὡς ἐλάχιστος πάλιν ἔγραψα δοῦλος.

67

V f. 107r ξξ' Ἰοὺ καλὸν μὲν καὶ ἤδη τὸ μέλλον προμαντευόμενος, ἡγιασμένε μου δέσποτα καὶ φίλε καὶ ἀδελφέ, βραδυτῆτα γραμμάτων διὰ τὴν τῶν πραγμάτων τραχύτητα συνταττόμενος ὑμῖν καὶ ἀπαίρων, εἰ μὴ ἐξελάθου, προανεφώνησα, πολὺ δὲ χεῖροσιν αὐτοῖς ἐντυχῶν ἢ προείκασα, εἰκότως καὶ
5 βράδιον ἢ διεννοούμην ἀντέγραψα, ἀεὶ τινα ῥαστώνην ἐλπίζων καὶ μεταβολὴν πρὸς τὸ βέλτιον, ὡς ἂν τι χρηστότερον ἀντὶ τῶν ἐναντίων ἔχοιμι γράφειν. νῦν οὖν μόλις τυχῶν, οὐκ αὐτοῦ ἐκείνου τοῦ ποθομένου, πολλοῦ γὰρ ἔτι καὶ δεῖ, ἀλλὰ τινος ὀρμῆς πρὸς ἐκεῖνο καὶ ἀρχῆς ἀμυδρᾶς διὰ τὴν θεῖαν φιλανθρωπίαν, καὶ ὡς ἐν ἡλίου προδιαυγείᾳ ἤδη καὶ αὐτὸν
10 ἀνατείλαντα πιστεύσας ὄραν, εὐθυμότερον ἔσχον τι μικρὸν καὶ ἀνέπνευσα, παραχρῆμα δὲ καὶ τοῦ χρέους εὐγνωμόνως ἐμνήσθην καὶ ἀποδίδωμι πρόθυμος, εἰ καὶ τυχὸν ὑπερήμερος, τῷ δεσπότη μὲν τὴν προσκύνησιν, τῷ δὲ φίλῳ τὴν προσαγόρευσιν, καὶ διὰ γραμμάτων ἀμφοτέροις γνωρίζω,
V f. 107v τῷ ἰ μὲν τὴν πίστιν ὅτι βεβαία, τῷ δὲ τὴν εὐνοίαν ὅτι ἀμετάβλητος. ἡ μὲν
15 τοῖνον σὴ τελειότης καὶ προσειρήσθω ταῖσδε ταῖς συλλαβαῖς καὶ τὸ πάντων δικαιοτάτων ὄφλημα τοῦτο τῆς ἀγάπης ἀπολαβέτω· τὰ πρὸς τὴν δεσποτικὴν δὲ καὶ θεῖαν μακαριότητα κἀνταῦθα σὸν ἔργον καὶ τῆς εἰλικρινοῦς τῷ ὄντι φιλίας, εὖ θεῖναι πάντα καὶ ὡς ἡμῖν καταθύμιον, ἦτοι τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς ὑστερήσεως τῶν γραμμάτων ἀπόλογον τὴν αὐτῶν τε τούτων
20 εἰσαγωγὴν καὶ τὴν παραδοχὴν ταύτης δὲ τῆς φαυλοτάτης καρποφορίας ἦν συνεπέμψαμεν, εἶτα τὴν ἐμοὶ πολυέραστον διὰ τῶν ἐκεῖθεν ἀντιγράφων ἀπόκρισιν. ταῦτ' οὖν ἅπαντα καλῶς καὶ ἀξίως ἑαυτῆς ἢ ἀκραιφνῆς φιλία διαθεμένη, κατευοδούσθω ἐν ἅπασιν κοινωφελέσιν ἔργοις καὶ θεαρέστοις, καὶ σοὶ τὰ κράτιστα παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τῶν δικαίων, ὡς καὶ αὐτῷ
25 δικαίῳ διαφερόντως, νῦν τε παρείη καὶ ἀεὶ παρόντα μὴ διαλίποι.

28 ἡ - με: Matth. 9.22 || 29 II Cor. 12.2

67: 15-16 τὸ - ἀγάπης: cf. Rom. 13, 8

67: V 107^v

68

Here everything abounds in adversities. The only relief amidst all of these, with the exception of divine goodness and my hope in it, is the remembrance of my lords and friends, my dearest, noble and holy lord, among whom from the very beginning I have ranked you and everything concerning you special and as very distinguished. And still now I cannot alter this good order, but as it was established in the beginning so it stays and is observed to this time. By all means it shall be preserved as long as there is some perception and memory in me and I will not undertake anything to alter it nor would I even try. But perhaps there is something we can rank before your friendship and glory, I mean your reputation for virtue, since I hardly bother to pay attention to those wordly accomplishments. Nevertheless, may you excel in both, the holy and the profane and may no one surpass you in holiness or in eminence in this life, or in any of the other virtues —apparent or real— but may you always excel in all these, rejoicing together with your people and faring well with your household. Besides this, this letter has nothing greater to offer and set before you.

69

An obscure apparition has taken hold of me and I seek to track it down and capture its truth, my most blessed and dear, holy Lord. It is now seven months and I thought I saw my Lord, my father and friend, the consecrated one, I mean you. I do not know where, but I think it was somewhere about in the Queen of the Cities that I saw you very faintly and while asleep. Yet this vision was truly a real appearance, not a dream. For just now the recollection seems to come back; and I saw, I saw my Lord, indeed who abounds in all graces and is accomplished in holiness and every other goodness. And his countenance was like the countenance of the angel and his words were words of life and the standard of his beauty —but the measure of his beauty I cannot describe it, for it is impossible to find anything like it in existence. But again a

68

Vf. 108r ξη' | Εὐθηνία μὲν ἅπαντα τὰ τῆδε κακῶν· μία δ' ἐπὶ πᾶσι τούτοις ἀναψυ-
 χῆ μετὰ τὴν θεϊαν χρηστότητα καὶ τὴν εἰς ἐκείνην ἐλπίδα, ἢ μνήμη τῶν
 ἐμῶν κυρίων καὶ φίλων, φίλτατέ μοι καὶ τίμιε καὶ ἅγιε κύρι, ὧν ἐν τοῖς
 μάλιστα καὶ ὅσον ἐξάιρετον ὑμᾶς ἀπ' ἀρχῆς καὶ τὰ ὑμέτερα τάττομεν.
 5 καὶ οὐδ' ἔτι καὶ νῦν τὴν καλὴν ταύτην ἔχομεν ἀμείψαι τάξιν ἐτέρως, ἀλλ'
 ὡς ἐτάχθη τὸ πρῶτον, οὕτως εἰς δεῦρο μένει καὶ συντηρεῖται· πάντως δὲ
 καὶ συντηρηθήσεται, ἕως αἴσθησις ἔνεστιν ἡμῖν τις καὶ μνήμη, καὶ οὐδὲν
 ἐγγειρήσομεν, οὐδ' ἂν πειραθῶμεν ἔξομεν ἴσως τῆς ὑμετέρας φιλίας τι
 καὶ δόξης προθεῖναι, τὴν ἐπ' ἀρετῇ λέγω δόξαν, ἐπεὶ ταῖς ἐξωθεν ταύταις
 10 οὐ πάνυ τι σχολάζω προσέχειν. πλὴν καὶ ταύτην κάκεινην πάντων ἅμα
 προέχοιτε, καὶ μηδεὶς ὑμῶν ἀγιότητι, μὴ βίου λαμπρότητι, μηδενὶ τῶν
 ἄλλων καλῶν τῶν δοκούντων ἢ ὄντων ἔξοι τι πλεόν, ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ πρω-
 τεύοιτε πάντων ἐπὶ πᾶσι τούτοις ἀεὶ, παγγενῆ τε χαίροντες ἅμα, καὶ πα-
 νοικεσίᾳ σφζόμενοι· τούτου γὰρ οὐδὲν μείζον ἔχει προσάγειν ἢ καρπο-
 15 φορεῖν ἢ γραφή.

69

Vf. 108v ξθ' | Εἰκασμός τις ἄδηλος ἔχει με, καὶ ζητῶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἀνιχνεῦσαι καὶ
 συλλαβεῖν, μακαριώτατέ μοι καὶ φίλτατε καὶ ἅγιε δέσποτα· μὴν γὰρ
 ἑβδομος οὗτος, κἀγὼ τὸν δεσπότην καὶ πατέρα καὶ φίλον, τὸν ἡγιασμέ-
 νον σέ, φημι, σὲ ἰδεῖν οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπου, κατὰ τὴν βασιλίδα δ' οἶμαι τῶν πό-
 5 λεων, ἀμυδρῶς λίαν ἔδοξα καὶ ὅσον ἐν ὕπνῳ. πλὴν ἀλλ' ὕπαρ, οὐκ ὄναρ,
 ἀληθῶς ἦν τὸ ὄραμα· νῦν γὰρ ἔοικε μόλις ἐπανελθεῖν ἢ ἀνάμνησις.
 καὶ εἶδον, εἶδον τῷ ὄντι τὸν πάσης χάριτος πλήρη καὶ μεστὸν ἀγιότητος
 καὶ καλοῦ παντὸς ἐτέρου δεσπότην μου, καὶ ἡ ὄρασις αὐτοῦ ὡς ὄρασις
 ἀγγέλου, καὶ τὰ ῥήματα αὐτοῦ ζωῆς ῥήματα, καὶ τῆς καλλονῆς ὁ σταθμός
 10 — ἀλλὰ ταύτης με τὸ μέτρον ἐπέλιπεν, ἐπειδὴ μηδὲν ὁμοιον τῶν ὄντων

68: 1 Εὐθηνία - κακῶν: cf. supra Ep. 54, 1

68: V 108'

1 τῆδε scripsi: τῆδε V Lag || 13 παγγενεῖ Lag

69: 5-6 ὕπαρ - ὄναρ: cf. Hom. Od. 19, 547; 20, 90 || 8-9 ἢ - ἀγγέλου: cf. Greg. Naz. Orat. XLV, 1 (PG 36,624A); Iudas 13,6 || 9 ῥήματα - ζωῆς: cf. Ioann. 6,68

69: V 108'-109'

thought comes to my mind anew. These were apparitions seen by a body, and for this reason the vision of the beloved was of short duration, and lasted such a short time as to become doubtful whether it was seen at all, since it probably took place in a forgetful head, I mean my own; because only through the eyes of the soul is it possible to see the one we desire wholly, completely and certainly—not doubtfully—and to delight utterly in him and to enjoy with pleasure his many graces. And this place here which keeps us apart is of no significance, neither the time that has elapsed <since our separation> nor any other hardship, because greater than all these was the nature and the power of this appearance, which has the power to see not only through walls and stones, as the old myth would have it, but through any other obstacle and hindrance that stands in the way. And in order that I bring to an end quickly the purpose of my letter to you, know that your holiness remains unforgettably with me. But if this tribute to your holiness is unprofitable, to me, however, it is not without reward or profit. Because what could be more important to me than finding relief in the remembrance of my lord and some consolation in the face of so many—alas, how many and great they are—evils? But may you be granted to us for a very long time thus shining over the earth, adorning not only the Synod, but both the Senate and simply the entire State, with the richness of the virtues that are liberally bestowed upon you.

70

The generosity of divine grace is clearly the reason that I now have my former wise friend as a holy one, so that I may pride myself on these two excellent qualities as being already my own, if indeed «friends share their possessions», or rather what belongs to one belongs to the other. Therefore, may this double ornament stay for ever with you, for it is both a decoration and a benefit to me who is enriched by it; and may I hear and see my friend, who is pleasing to all the others and especially to me, who exceedingly loves him, inasmuch as I perceive perhaps better than any other his excellence. May we, who love him and share in this way his virtue, not be deprived of him either by envy or some other means. In a word, let him now fare well in body (because his soul is already impassible, being transformed by the spirit) and may he be filled with every happiness, both human and divine, at all times.

εὐρεῖν ἐστι. πλὴν ἀλλ' οἷόν με πάλιν ἐκ καινῆς εἰσῆλθεν ἐνθύμημα· ὄψεις σώματος ταῦτα καὶ διὰ τοῦτο βραχύτατον εἰς θεὸν τὸ ἐραστόν, καὶ τοσοῦτον, ὡς καὶ ἀμφίβολον, εἰ ὄλωσθε τεθέαται, κινδυνεῦσαι γενέσθαι παρὰ λογισμοῖς ἐπιλήσιμοι, τοῖς ἑμοῖς δῆλον ὅτι, ἐπεὶ τοῖς ψυχικοῖς
 15 ὀφθαλμοῖς καθ' ὄλου τε καὶ δι' ὄλου καὶ βεβαίως, οὐκ ἀμφιβόλως, παρέστιν ὄραν τὸν ποθούμενον καὶ κατατρυφᾶν εἰς κόρον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀπολαύειν ἡδέως τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ | πολλῶν χαρισμάτων. καὶ οὐδὲν ὁ τόπος ἐνταῦθα, οὐδὲν ὁ χρόνος ὁ μέσος οὐδ' ἕτερα περιστασις· κρεῖττων γὰρ πάντων τούτων ἢ τῆς ὄψεως ταύτης φύσις καὶ δύναμις, οὐ διὰ τοίχων ὄραν καὶ διὰ
 20 λίθων ἔχουσα μόνον, ὡς ὁ παλαιὸς μῦθος βούλεται, ἀλλὰ καὶ δι' ἑτέρου παντός ἐπιπροσθεῖν πεφυκότης ἐμποδίου τε καὶ κωλύματος. καὶ ἵνα σοὶ θᾶπτον τὸν σκοπὸν τοῦ λόγου συναπαρτίσω, ἀείμνηστον ἴσθι παρ' ἑμοὶ διαμένουσαν τὴν σὴν ὁσιότητα. εἰ δ' ἀκερδῆς ἢ χάρις αὐτῆ, ἀλλ' ἡμῖν γε πάντως αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἀκερδῆς οὐδ' ἀνόνητος· τί γὰρ μείζον ἑμοὶ τοῦ μνήμη
 25 κουφίζεσθαι δεσπότη τοσοῦτου κἀντεῦθεν μετρίως ἐπὶ πολλοῖς (φεῦ ἡλίκοις τε καὶ ὄσοις) κακοῖς ψυχαγωγεῖν ἑμαυτόν; ἀλλὰ μοι χαρισθεῖς εἰς μήκιστον οὕτως ὑπὲρ γῆς διαλάμπων καὶ μὴ σύνοδον μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ σύγκλητον ἅμα καὶ πᾶν ἀπλῶς τὸ πολίτευμα τῷ τῶν ἐν σοὶ καλῶν πλούτῳ φιλοτιμῶς κατακοσμών.

70

ο' Φιλοτιμία τῆς θείας ἀντικρυς χάριτος, ὅτι τὸν πρὸ τοῦ σοφὸν φίλον νῦν καὶ ἅγιον ἔχομεν, ἵν' ἐπὶ δυσὶ τοῖς πρώτοις καλοῖς ὡς οἰκείοις ἤδη καλλωπιζοίμεθα, εἶπερ τὰ τῶν φίλων κοινά, ἢ μᾶλλον ἴδια θατέρῳ τὰ τοῦ ἑτέρου. παραμένει τοιγαροῦν ἐπὶ πλεόν τὸ διπλοῦν καλλώπισμα τοῦτο,
 V f. 109v κόσμος ἅμα καὶ | ὄφελος ἡμῖν τοῖς πλουτοῦσι, καὶ ἀκούοιτό μοι καὶ βλέποιτο ὁ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις μὲν πᾶσι κεχαρισμένος οὕτω τι φίλος, ἡμῖν δὲ μάλιστα πάντων τοῖς καὶ μᾶλλον ποθοῦσιν, ἅτε πλεόν ἴσως τῶν ἄλλων συνιεῖσι τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ· καὶ μὴ τις φθόνος αὐτόν, μὴ τις ἕτερος τρόπος ἡμᾶς τοὺς φιλοῦντας καὶ μετέχοντας οὕτω τῶν αὐτοῦ χαρίτων ἀφέλοιτο. τοῦ δὲ
 10 λόγου κεφάλαιον, ἐρρώσθω τέως τὸ σῶμα (τὴν γὰρ ψυχὴν ἀπαθῆς ἐστὶ, μεταπεπλασμένος ἤδη τῷ πνεύματι) καὶ πάσης χαρᾶς καὶ ἀνθρωπίνης καὶ θείας ἐν παντὶ πληροῦσθω καιρῷ.

20 ὁ - μῦθος; cf. Plat. Symp. 191A

70: 3 CPG I 106, 266; II 76, 481

70: V 109^v

I Φιλοτιμία scripsi: Φιλοτιμία Lag

71

A servant of a good master obviously is good himself, for he becomes like the master by participating in and witnessing his activities so closely. Therefore, it is no wonder, if you are admirable in every respect, I mean, in virtue and learning as well as in dignity. If in addition to these you are admirable for your friendship, I am not sure that I can give an opinion, since both place and time give cause for suspicion in as much as they are doing us an injustice by keeping us separated so far away and for such a long time from our friend and creating in us the uncertainty whether he has suffered perhaps something ill as a human being, since he is not seeing me nor being seen by me, the dearly beloved, who says (and at the same time he is believed) that he loves me no less in return. May you live then and fare well and be of good spirit and besides, may you maintain for your friend the same disposition — that is, the best. Why? But how could I bear to contribute less to our friendship especially to those who desire to be friends? Or is it not enough that I fall so short of them with regard to their other good qualities? But in love I shall not surrender my claim to any one at all, neither shall I allow anyone to be first before me; but equality I would share, to be sure, especially with you, who are naturally able to add to your love from your blood relationship to us.

72

With the eyes of the body I can just barely be present with my friends, but with the spiritual and invisible eyes of the soul I can do so in a very substantial fashion, just as I was allowed only a short while ago to see your holiness in a dream. In such a vision I was present with you continually, though not in body, contemplating the richness of your virtues and pleasantly enjoying and delighting myself in it — praying indeed earnestly and at the same time desiring that this common good may be granted to me for a longer time and for my whole life, for there is nothing like it to be seen in our days. May then this be so fulfilled, and may the God of the righteous, among whom you are counted, approve that your holiness stay in life much longer, preserving you ever free from grief and sickness and free of every undesirable and unpleasant experience. Enough concerning these things. But give me in return your blessing, which I desire more than gold and precious stones and may you succeed in everything and everywhere in accordance with your goals, both with regard to the present and even more with regard to the future and the hope of eternal life.

71

σα' Ἀγαθοῦ δεσπότου θεράπων εικότως ἀγαθὸς καὶ αὐτός, ἐπειδήπερ ἀμέσως μετέχων τε καὶ βλέπων ἐξομοιοῦται. οὐκοῦν οὐδὲν θαυμαστόν, εἰ θαυμαστός σὺ τὰ πάντα, ἀρετὴν τε λέγω καὶ λόγον καὶ σεμνότητα πᾶσαν. εἰ δὲ καὶ φιλίαν πρὸς τούτοις, οὐ θαρρῶ παντάπασιν ἀποφαίνεσθαι, ἐπει-
5 δὴ καὶ χρόνος καὶ τόπος ἀδικεῖν ἡμᾶς ὑποπτος, τοσοῦτον ἀπάγοντες καὶ πρὸς τοσοῦτον τοῦ φίλου, καὶ διστάζειν παρέχοντες μὴ τι πέπονθεν ἀνθρώπινον ἴσως οὐχ ὄρων, οὐχ ὀρώμενος, ὁ πολλὰ μὲν φιλούμενος, ἀντιφιλεῖν δ' οὐκ ἐλάττω λέγων ἅμα καὶ πιστευόμενος. εἴης οὖν μοι καὶ ζῶν
V f. 110r καὶ ἐρρωμένος καὶ εὐθυμος καὶ πρὸς | τούτοις τῷ φίλῳ τὴν ἴσην ἀποσφ-
10 ζῶν διάθεσιν, τὴν κρείττω γάρ. διατί; ἢ πῶς ἂν ἡμεῖς ἀνασχοίμεθα τὸ ἥττον εἰς γε φιλίαν πρὸς τοὺς φιλεῖν ἐθέλοντας ἀποφέρεσθαι; ἢ οὐχ ἄλις ὅτι λειπόμεθα τοσοῦτον αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις καλοῖς; ἀλλὰ τοῦ γε φιλεῖν οὐδενὶ τῶν πάντων παραχωρήσομεν οὐδ' ἐφήσομεν πρωτεύειν ἡμῶν, ἰσότητος δ' ἂν ἐπιεικῶς μεταδοίημεν καὶ μάλιστα σοί, τῷ προσθήκη τῶν
15 φίλτροις ἐκ τῆς καὶ καθ' αἷμα πρὸς ἡμᾶς κοινωνίας παρέχειν ὡς εἰκὸς ἔχοντι.

72

οβ' Ὀλίγα μὲν ἡμεῖς δυνατοὶ διὰ τῶν σαρκικῶν τούτων ὄψεων τοῖς φίλοις συγγίνεσθαι, οὐκ ὀλίγα δὲ πάντως διὰ τῶν ψυχικῶν καὶ ἀδήλων· ὡς που καὶ τὴν σὴν ὀσιότητα βραχὺ πρὸ καιροῦ τινος συγχωρηθέντες ἰδεῖν καὶ ὄσον ἐν ὑπνῳ. κατὰ τοῦτο δὴ τὸ βλεπόμενον ἀοράτως αὐτῇ διὰ παν-
5 τὸς σύνεσμεν καὶ τὸν πλοῦτον τῶν ταύτης ἀρετῶν θεωροῦμεν καὶ ἠδέως αὐτοῦ κατατρυφῶμεν καὶ ἀπολαύομεν, δι' εὐχῆς ὅτι μάλιστα θερμοτάτης ἅμα ποιούμενοι καὶ δι' ἐφέσεως ἔχοντες ἐπὶ μήκιστον ἡμῖν χαρισθῆναι καὶ παντὶ τῷ καθ' ἡμᾶς βίῳ τοῦτο τὸ κοινὸν ἀγαθόν, ᾧ μηδὲν ὁμοιον
V f. 110v ἰδεῖν ἐστὶν ἕτερον | ἐν ταύταις ταῖς ἡμέραις ἡμῶν. εἴη τοίνυν οὕτω καὶ
10 γένοιτο, καὶ τὴν σὴν ἀγιότητα χρονωτέρον ἐμμεῖναι τῷ βίῳ ὁ τῶν κατὰ σὲ δικαίων θεὸς εὐδοκήσοι, ἄλυπὸν τε καὶ ἄνοσον αἰεὶ συντηρῶν καὶ παντὸς ἐλευθέραν ἀβουλήτου καὶ ἀηδοῦς· περὶ ὧν καὶ ἀρκούντως, ἀλλ' ἀντίδος καὶ αὐτὸς ἡμῖν μίαν μακαρίαν εὐχὴν, ἣν ὑπὲρ χρυσίου καὶ λίθου ἐπιποθοῦμεν, καὶ σοὶ πάντα χωροῖη κατὰ σκοπὸν πανταχοῦ, ὅσα τε πρὸς
15 τὸ νῦν ἐστὶ καὶ πολλῶ πλέον ὅσα πρὸς τὸ μέλλον καὶ τὴν ἐλπίδα.

71: V 109^v-110^r

72: 2-4 ὡς - ὑπνῳ: cf. supra Ep. 69,2-6

72: V 110^v

Exceedingly grievous is the suffering (indeed, it cannot be denied). The death of a son who loved his father is truly grievous and very painful not only to an aged father who so much loved his son — a son young in body but mature in judgment, adorned with knowledge and learning and with all kind of virtues, for which he was deservedly loved by everybody. Such a loss then, is not painful and grievous only to the father, nor only to us who are related by kinship or blood ties and who have from the beginning been connected by great love to him, but I think to everyone who actually experienced the nobleness of the departed or knew of him otherwise by hearsay. Furthermore, I think that there is no one on earth who has not learned and heard it said that this is a truly grievous and sad occasion, and not deemed the event a common loss and misfortune.

But what else could I say about this? What else could we do besides this? That we be reminded of God and of our human nature and that He is the same one who binds and unbinds and who provides a beginning and now claims it back; and that from the start, human nature was condemned to suffer and that death once and for all contains all mortals; and that there has never been anyone among mortals, neither in the past, present or future, who has not been subjected once to this sentence of destruction or who has not suffered it or suffers it now or shall suffer it, even though some sooner, and some perhaps suffer it and absolve it later. There is thus nothing wondrous about our present suffering, not at all, for it is quite ordinary and familiar among mankind and nothing else has been bound up with and has so consumed our lives and knowledge as human death. But if his untimely death perhaps distresses us, here it would not be irrelevant, in any case, to reflect on this: that He who ordains and judges each one of these separately, is our father and He is wise and most loving of all fathers, and He is likewise more wise than all those who are or think that they are wise. It is He who places under his own authority the time and years of each one of us and it is He who knows better than all of us to set apart for each his proper time, treating his own people with greater benevolence and more wisdom than our own judgment or understanding allows. For we know nothing about how precisely these matters are ordained and for this reason, just as with everything else, we now surrender ourselves, and indeed we

ογ' Ἀλγεινὸν μὲν σφόδρα τὸ πάθος, οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν εἰπεῖν ὡς οὐχί, ἀλγεινὸν πρὸς ἀλήθειαν καὶ λίαν ὀδυνηρὸν, οὐ γηραιῷ πατρὶ μόνον καὶ τοσοῦτον φιλόπαιδι θάνατος υἱοῦ φιλοπάτορος, τὸ σῶμα μὲν νέου, παλαιοῦ δὲ τὸ φρόνημα, καὶ παιδεία καὶ λόγοις καὶ χάρισι παντοίαις κεκοσμημένου, 5 καὶ διὰ ταῦτα τοῖς πᾶσι προσηκόντως ἠγαπημένου. οὐ πατρὶ τοῖνυν μόνον χαλεπὸν καὶ βαρύτερον ἢ τοσαύτη ζημία, οὐδ' ἡμῖν τοῖς κοινωνοῦσιν ἀγγιστείας ἢ αἵματος καὶ διὰ φίλων τοσοῦτων ἀπ' ἀρχῆς συνημμένοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶσιν, οἶμαι, τοῖς ὅλως πειραθεῖσι τῆς καλοκάγαθίας V f. 111r τοῦ ἀπελθόντος ἢ καὶ ἄλλως γνωρίσασι τὸν ἄνδρα δι' ἀκοῆς. | ἔτι δ' 10 οἶμαι τῶν ὄντων οὐδεὶς ὃς οὐκ ἔγνω καὶ ἤκουσεν ἀνιαρὸν εἰκότως τὸ πρᾶγμα καὶ λυπηρὸν, καὶ κοινὴ τις ζημία καὶ συμφορὰ τὸ συμβάν. Ἀλλὰ τί ποτ' ἂν εἴποιμεν ἡμεῖς ἐπ' αὐτῷ; τί δ' ἂν δράσαιμεν ἄλλο πλὴν ἢ μόνον ἐκεῖνο; μνησθησόμεθα θεοῦ τε καὶ φύσεως, καὶ ὡς ὁ μὲν ὁ αὐτός ἐστιν ὁ καὶ συνδήσας καὶ λύσας, ὃ τε τὴν ἀρχὴν παρασχόμενος καὶ 15 ὁ νῦν ἀφελόμενος, ἢ δὲ φύσις τὸ πάθος ἀπ' ἀρχῆς κατεκρίθη, καὶ διὰ παντὸς καθ' ἅπαξ ὁ θάνατος χωρεῖ τοῦ θνητοῦ, καὶ οὐδὲν οὔτε γέγονεν οὔτε ἔστιν οὔτ' ἔσται τῶν ὑπὸ τὸ αὐτὸ γενομένων ἐφ' ἅπαξ τῆς φθορᾶς ταύτης κρίμα, ὃ μὴ τοῦτο καὶ πέπονθε καὶ πάσχει καὶ πείσεται, κἄν τὸ μὲν αὐτῶν τάχιον, τὸ δὲ καὶ βράδιον ἴσως πάσχη καὶ λύηται. θαυμαστὸν οὖν 20 οὐδὲν οὐδὲ τὸ νῦν καὶ ἡμέτερον, ἀλλὰ καὶ λίαν ἀνθρώποις σύνθηές τε καὶ γνώριμον, καὶ οὐδὲν οὕτως ἕτερον ὡς ἀνθρώπινος θάνατος τῇ καθ' ἡμᾶς ζωῇ τε καὶ γνώσει συνφικεῖται τε καὶ κατατέτριπται. εἰ δ' ἐνοχλεῖ τὸ πρὸ ὥρας ἴσως ἐνταῦθα, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνο πάντως οὐκ ἄκαιρον πρὸς τοῦτο λογίσασθαι, ὅτι ὁ τάτων καὶ κρίνων τούτων καθ' ἕκαστον καὶ πατήρ 25 ἐστὶν ἡμῶν καὶ σοφός, φιλοστοργότατος ἀπάντων πατέρων καὶ σοφώτερος ὁμοίως πάντων τῶν ὄντων ἢ δοκούντων σοφῶν. αὐτὸς οὖν τοὺς καιροὺς ἐκάστου καὶ χρόνους ἐν τῇ ἰδίᾳ | θέμενος ἐξουσία ἄμεινον ἡμῶν V f. 111v πάντων οἶδεν ἀφορίζειν τὸν ἴδιον ἐκάστῳ καὶ πρέποντα καὶ φιλανθρωπότερον χρῆσθαι τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ καὶ σοφώτερον ἢ κατὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν κρίσιν τε 30 καὶ διάνοιαν, οἱ μὴδὲν τούτων ἴσμεν ἀκριβῶς ὅπως ἔχει, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καθάπερ ἐπὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἄλλοις, οὕτω δὴ κἀνταῦθα παραχωροῦμεν καὶ

73: 15-16 καὶ - θνητοῦ: cf. Rom. 5,12 || 27 ἐν - ἐξουσία: cf. Acta 1,7

ought to surrender ourselves completely, to Him who knows and judges better than we our own affairs, to Him who knows how to ordain them in accordance with the proper reason and time.

Reflect on all this, for you excel by the grace of God in prudence, experience and the instruction in these matters more than many others, or rather more than any other; please, bear up under this accident and as much as you can lighten and assuage your misfortune, becoming a comforter to yourself; and employ these thoughts as a charm and any other thought that helps your suffering at this time, so that you may receive, besides the other virtues with which you are adorned, the crown of patience for such great and admirable perseverance. This crown shall be granted to you by the Lord, the righteous judge, on the day of His appearance, when, as I believe, you shall see again your departed whom you lament now, appearing with confidence before the face of the Lord to receive the same glory and comfort from him.

I pray that you may receive it, for you are worthy of it, for you are both crowned with good works; and instead of this separation and the sorrow and loss that you feel for each other, may you secure again with justification your union with each other entering into the joy of the Lord, where habitation is joyful for all. For the time being, fare well both in body and soul as much as is possible, and may He who comforts suffering souls, as they deserve, also comfort your own soul in ways that He alone knows.

74

What sort of grammarian do we now have among us, and of what style? Is he Sophoclean? Or by now Aristophanic? I at least would have preferred him to be Aratean and would have liked to hear that he is even more advanced than that and closer to the completion of his schooling. So make haste towards this goal with all speed; and with the sharp wings of the mind flying most excellently through these unmown meadows of the lessons, reach out to the summit of wisdom and without loss of time help out your natural talents towards the best

παραχωρεῖν γε πάντως ὀφείλομεν τῷ κρεῖττον ἡμῶν τὰ καθ' ἡμᾶς εἰδοῦσι καὶ κρίνονται καὶ πρὸς τὸν προσήκοντα λόγον καὶ καιρὸν διατάττοντι.

35 Ἄπερ καὶ αὐτὸς λογιζόμενος, ὡς φρονήσει καὶ πείρα καὶ τῇ περὶ ταῦτα παιδεύσει. τῶν πολλῶν θεοῦ χάριτι διαφέρων ἢ καὶ τῶν πάντων, ἕξανάφερέ μοι πρὸς τὸ συμβάν, καὶ τὴν συμφορὰν, ὅσον ἔνεστι, κούφιζε καὶ μετρίαζε, παρακλήτωρ γινόμενος αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ, καὶ τοῖς ἐπιλογισμοῖς ἤδη τούτοις καὶ εἴ τις ἄλλος συντείνει πρὸς τὸν καιρὸν καὶ τὸ πάθος, οἷον ἐπωδαῖς τισι χρώμενος, ἵνα δυναθῆς πρὸς ταῖς ἄλλαις ἀρεταῖς, αἷς κεκό-

40 σμησαι, καὶ τὸν τῆς ὑπομονῆς λαβεῖν στέφανον ἐφ' οὗτω μεγάλη τε καὶ θαυμαστῇ καρτερία, ὃν ἀποδώσει σοι κύριος ὁ δίκαιος κριτὴς ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἐπιφανείας, ὅτε δὴ καὶ τὸν ἀπελθόντα σοι καὶ θρηνοῦμενον νῦν ὄψεσθαί

V f. 112r σε πιστεύω, μετὰ παρρησίας ἐμφανιζόμενον τῷ προσώπῳ κυρίου, καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ἐκείνῳ καὶ δόξης καὶ παρακλήσεως τεύξεσθαι.

45 Καὶ μοι τεύξοισθε ταύτης, ὥσπερ δὴ που καὶ ἄξιον, ἐπ' ἔργοις ἀμφοτέροι καλοῖς στεφανούμενοι, καὶ ἀντὶ τῆς διαζεύξεως ταύτης καὶ τῆς ἐπ' ἀλλήλοις λύπης τε καὶ ζημίας τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἔνωσιν πάλιν δικαίως ἀπολαμβάνοντες καὶ εἰς τὴν χαρὰν τοῦ αὐτοῦ συνεισιόντες κυρίου, ἐνθα εὐφραينوμένων πάντων ἢ κατοικία. πρὸς δ' οὖν τὸ παρὸν ἔρρωσό μοι καὶ

50 σῶμα καὶ ψυχὴν ὡς οἶόν τε, καὶ ὁ παρακαλῶν πρὸς ἀξίαν τὰς ὀδυνωμένας ψυχάς, αὐτὸς μοι δὴ καὶ τὴν σὴν οἷς ἐκεῖνος ἐπίσταται τρόποις παρακαλέ- σοι.

74

οδ' Ποταπὸς ἡμῖν ἄρα καὶ τίς ὁ γραμματικός; πότερον Σοφόκλειος ἢ Ἄριστοφάνειος ἤδη; ὡς ἔγωγε βουλοίμην ἂν καὶ Ἄρατειον ἢ καὶ ἔτι προσωτέρω τοῦτον ἀκοῦσαι καὶ μᾶλλον ἐγγυτέρω τοῦ τέλους τῆς ἐγκυκλίου. σπεῦδε τοίνυν πρὸς τοῦτο καὶ κατεπείγου· καὶ ὄξεϊ τοῦ νοῦ τῷ πτερῷ τοὺς

5 ἀκηράτους τούτους λειμῶνας τῶν μαθημάτων ἄριστα διῦπτάμενος πρὸς τὸ ἄκρον ἔντεινε τῆς σοφίας, βοηθῶν εὐκαίρως περὶ τὰ κάλλιστα διὰ τῆς

41-42 ὃν - ἐπιφανείας: cf. II Tim. 4,8 || 48 εἰς - κυρίου: cf. Matth. 2,21

74: 4 ὄξεϊ - πτερῷ: cf. Greg. Naz. Ep. 178, 12 (II 69 Gallay) || 5 ἀκηράτους - λειμῶνας: cf. Eur. Hippol. 76

74: V 112r-113r
2-3 προσωτέρω Lag: προσωτέρω V || 3 ἐγγυτέρω Lag: ἐγγυτέρω V

achievement through diligence — because «life is short but the arts many» (I mean the intellectual ones that are for you to learn) and you must master all these, should the divine benevolence assent to it, if you are to come very near to human perfection, and become worthy of your family and of the great hopes and prayers bestowed upon you. As for your progress, let it not be an advance which has length without breadth, according to the definition of the slender lines that geometry will teach you, so that you master only *shedography*, for instance, or only poetry or some other part of any other branches of learning, which are so numerous, and disregard other subjects. But you should apply yourself in depth, breadth and length, in the manner of solid bodies, taking care to learn equally all that is necessary and covering more ground in your studies, so that you may blossom like a fruit-bearing palm-tree and not like a barren reed. This is what I would ask you to do: wish not to seem the best, but strive to become such, advancing to the very depths of learning; and do not run through your studies superficially or only pay perfunctory attention to the lessons as most of the uneducated and ignorant do, so that you may not thus deceive yourself at work or be deceived by others and in the end discover that you have collected winds as treasures and have gathered only barrenness in your hands. But may this indeed be very far from you and from your activities and may you be thought and at the same become complete and equipped for all tasks and may you produce in your own time abundant fruit, like that tree of the Psalms which was planted near the springs of water.

ἐπιμελείας τῇ φύσει, ὅτι ὁ βίος βραχύς, αἱ δὲ τέχναι πολλαί, τὰς λογικὰς
 V f. 112v καὶ σὰς φημι ταύτας, καὶ διὰ πασῶν σε δεῖ τούτων, | ἂν καὶ τὰ τῆς θείας
 ἐπινεύη φιλανθρωπίας, ἔλθειν, εἴ τι μέλλοις προσάψασθαι τοῦ κατ' ἀν-
 10 θρώπων τελείου καὶ γενέσθαι τοῦ γένους καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ σοὶ μεγάλων ἐλπί-
 δων καὶ εὐχῶν ἄξιος. τὰ δὲ τῆς προκοπῆς μὴ εἰς μῆκος ἀπλατῆς προχω-
 ρεῖτω σοὶ κατὰ τοὺς τῆς λεπτῆς γραμμῆς ὄρους, οὗς γεωμετρία διδάξει
 σε, ὥστε μόνου τοῦ σχεδου, φέρε εἰπεῖν, ἢ τῶν ποιημάτων σε μόνον ἢ
 καὶ ἄλλου μέρους ἑνός τινος τῶν τῆς παιδεύσεως ἔχουσθαι, οὕτως ὄντων
 15 πολλῶν, καταφρονεῖν δὲ τῶν ἄλλων, ἀλλ' εἰς βάθος ἅμα καὶ πλάτος καὶ
 μῆκος συμπαρεκτείνου πρὸς τὸ τοῦ στερεοῦ παράδειγμα μᾶλλον ἐπ' ἴσης
 ἀπάντων τῶν εἰς γνῶσιν ἀναγκαίων ἐπιμελόμενος καὶ πλείονα χώραν
 ἐπιλαμβάνων ἐν τοῖς μαθήμασιν, ἵν' ὡς φοῖνιξ καρποφόρος ἀνθήσης καὶ
 μὴ ὡς κάλαμος ἄκαρπος. οὕτως οὖν ποιῶν ἔσο μοι, καὶ μὴ δοκεῖν ἄρι-
 20 στος, ἀλλ' εἶναι θέλε, εἰς τὸ βάθος ὡς μάλιστα προῖων τῆς παιδεύσεως,
 καὶ μὴ ἐξ ἐπιπολῆς ἐπιτρέχων καὶ μόνον ἀπλῶς ἀφοσιούμενος τὰ μαθή-
 ματα κατὰ τοὺς πολλοὺς τῶν ἀπαιδευτῶν καὶ ἀμαθῶν, ἵνα μὴ οὕτω σεαυ-
 τὸν ἀπατῶν ἐν τῷ τῆς ἐργασίας καιρῷ ἢ καὶ παρ' ἑτέρων ἐξαπατῶμενος
 V f. 113r λάθης ὑστερον θησαυρίσας ἀνέμους καὶ συνάξεως ταῖς χερσὶν ἀκαρπίαν.
 25 ἀλλ' ἀπεῖν γε τοῦτο πορρωτάτω σοῦ καὶ τῶν σῶν, αὐτὸς δὲ καὶ δόξοις
 ἅμα καὶ γένοιο ἐντελής καὶ ἄρτιος περὶ πάντα, καὶ δαψιλῆ τὸν καρπὸν ἐν
 τῷ καιρῷ τῷ σῷ δώσοις ὡς τὸ δένδρον ἐκεῖνο τὸ ψαλμικόν, τὸ παρὰ τὰς
 διεξόδους τῶν ὑδάτων πεφυτευμένον.

7 Hippocr. Aroph. I.1.1 || 18 ὡς - ἀνθήσης: cf. Ps. 91, 13 || 19-20 καὶ - θέλε: cf. Aesch. Sept. 592 ||
 24 θησαυρίσας ἀνέμους: cf. Ps. 134,7 | συνάξεως - ἀκαρπίαν: cf. Prou. 9,12 || 26 ἄρτιος - πάντα: cf.
 II Tim. 3,17 || 27-28 τὸ δένδρον - πεφυτευμένον: cf. Ps. 1,3

16 ἐπ' ἴσης Lag: ἐπίσης V || 25 πορρωτάτω Lag: πορρωτάτω V

75

An excellent prey has escaped me, oh what a loss! and a friend has slipped by me without addressing a word to me, without looking me up, without being spoken to, without being seen. I do not know what he had in mind and what his pretext was. We had hoped, nevertheless, to accept him not simply as a friend but as a ruler long ago and we were awaiting the event — how would you say?—with pleasure and much praying. But since my friend is occupying my place instead of me, I consider myself not completely unfortunate, neither altogether unlucky; for even if I have not obtained my first wish, clearly on account of the abuse and malice of the evil one, having not lost my second best, I would no longer rank it second but first. However, may the Paphlagonians, who are henceforth happy on account of you, have more enjoyment of your goodness. I consider them already blessed, because in the struggle over you they have defeated me and have been favoured for this common and highly-prized good, I mean your incomparable excellence and piety. May you stay then longer, may you stay with them and may they for a very long time have the full benefit of your worthy and admirable authority.

76

Beginning with you, by way of preface, and as one of your very own, I would not deny that I love the brothers, who are anyhow worthy of being loved by everybody and especially by me having, as I do, greater rights, if you give to your teachers a few more rights than to others; especially to those who have thus so purely loved you and who have from the beginning provided you with no weak incentive for the pursuit of goodness or the desire for the most excellent accomplishments, in which I know that you excel more than anyone else. For by subjecting your natural impulses to this incentive and being excited even more in this way, you have hastened to the present degree of accomplishment. May you reach perfection, if at this point you still fall somewhat short of the perfect. So much for our most dear brothers from me. If they also deem it worthy to retain in their souls a good memory of their former teacher, perhaps it would be quite natural and not unreasonable. Be that as it may, fare well with all your house and peace and mercy be upon you and yours.

75

οε' Διέφυγεν ἡμᾶς ἡδὺ θήραμα, ὃ τῆς ζημίας! καὶ παρήλθε φίλος ἀνὴρ μὴ προσειπῶν, μὴ προσβλέψας, μὴ προσρηθείς, μὴ ὄφθεις — οὐκ οἶδ' ὅ,τι δόξαν αὐτῷ, καὶ δι' ἦντινα πρόφασιν. ἡμεῖς μέντοι πάλαι ἠλπίζομεν οὐ φίλον τοῦτον ἀπλῶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄρχοντα δέξασθαι, καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα (πῶς 5 ἂν εἴποις;) ἡδέως καὶ δι' εὐχῶν ὁπόσων προσεδεχόμεθα. ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ἀνθ' ἡμῶν ἐπὶ τὰ ἡμέτερα ὁ ἡμέτερος, οὐ παντελῶς ἡμεῖς ἀτυχεῖς, οὐδὲ δυσπραγεῖν εἰς ἅπαν ἠγούμεθα, ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ τοῦ πρώτου τῶν ἐφετῶν διημάρτομεν, δηλαδὴ κατ' ἐπήρειαν καὶ φθόνον τοῦ πονηροῦ, ἀλλὰ τοῦ γε δευτέρου τῶν καλῶν μὴ διαπεσόντες, οὐκέτι δεύτερον τοῦτο, ἀλλὰ πρῶτον 10 ἂν τάττοιμεν· πλὴν ἀλλ' ἐπὶ πλέον ἀπόναινο τῆς σῆς καλοκάγαθίας οἱ διὰ σέ τὸ ἐντεῦθεν εὐτυχεῖς Παφλαγόνες, οὓς ἤδη μακαρίους ἠγοῦμαι, νικήσαντας ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ σοί, καὶ προτιμηθέντας εἰς τοῦτο τὸ κοινὸν καὶ V f. 113v περιμάχητον ἀγαθόν, τὴν σὴν ἀσύγκριτον λέγω καλλονὴν καὶ εὐσέβειαν. ἐπιμείνεις οὖν πλέον, ἐπιμείνεις αὐτοῖς, καὶ εἰς μακρότερόν σου κα- 15 ταπολαύσειαν τῆς οὕτω χρηστῆς καὶ θαυμασίας ἀρχῆς.

76

ος' Φιλεῖν μὲν ἐγὼ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς οὐκ ἂν ἀρνηθεῖην, ἴν' ἀπὸ τῶν ὑμετέρων ὡς καὶ ὑμέτερος προοιμιάσωμαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς, καὶ ἄλλως μὲν ὄντας φιλεῖσθαι παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀξίους, ἐμοὶ δὲ καὶ πλέον διὰ πλείω τὰ δίκαια, εἴ τι πλέον ἔχειν διδόνετε τοῖς διδασκάλοις παρὰ τοὺς ἄλλους, καὶ μᾶλλον τοῖς 5 οὕτω καθαρῶς ὑμᾶς ἀγαπήσασι καὶ πρὸς τὸν τοῦ καλοῦ ζῆλον τοῦτον καὶ τὴν περὶ τὰ κάλλιστα προθυμίαν, ἐν οἷς ὑμᾶς ἴσμεν τῶν πολλῶν διαφέροντας, οὐ φαῦλόν τι κέντρον ἐξ ἀρχῆς προσβαλοῦσιν, ᾧ τὰς οἴκοθεν ὁρμὰς παρασχόντες, καὶ ταύτη πλέον ἐρεθισθέντες εἰς τὸ μέτρον ἐδράμετε τῆς νῦν προκοπῆς. εἴη δ' ἀφικέσθαι καὶ πρὸς τὸ πέρας, εἰ δὴ καὶ ἔτι ἔλλείπει 10 τι παρ' ὑμῖν τοῦ τελείου. τοσοῦτον μὲν τοῖς φιλάτοις αὐταδέλοις τὸ παρ' ἡμῶν. εἰ δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ τὸν πάλαι διδάσκαλον ἀγαθῆς ποτε μνήμης ἐν ταῖς ἑαυτῶν ψυχαῖς ἀξιοῦσιν, οὐκ ἀπεικὸς τάχα ἂν, ἀλλὰ καὶ λίαν εἰκός. V f. 114r εἴτ' οὖν οὕτως| εἴτε καὶ ἄλλως, σφῶζισθέ μοι πανοικεσία, καὶ εἰρήνη καὶ ἔλεος ἐφ' ὑμᾶς τε καὶ τὰ ὑμέτερα.

75: 1 Διέφυγεν - ζημίας: cf. Greg. Naz. Orat. XXIV, 1(PG 35, 1170)

75: V 113^v

7-8 διημάρτομεν Lag: διημάρτωμεν V || 10 ἐπὶ πλέον Lag: ἐπιπλέον V

76: V 113^v-114^r

13 πανοικεσία Lag

My letter may be late, but my memory has reached you already. For my conscience is a witness that I carry you continually in my soul and that I remember those pleasant discussions, our happy fellowship and our sincere friendship and wonderful disposition. Whom would I more justly remember, had I forgotten my dear lords and those very dear children of yours whom I consider as much mine as yours and your whole God-protected household which kindly offered me hospitality and rest not only once but many times and which I gladly visited whenever it was possible for me, something that I never granted to any of the other households, many of which, if not all, were earnestly inviting me? The delay is not then because of forgetfulness—I would not be so ungrateful to my beloved ones—but having been sunk in «deep mire» of miseries (to quote the Psalms) and having been filled with much disgust and nausea, I have suffered the misfortune of those who have lost their appetite, who, when they are once disgusted with some food, dislike even the most pleasant at times. Myself then, since I am neither by nature nor education a liar, having suffered something similar, I am not ashamed to tell you the truth, you the most dear and intimate to me of all other people. But from now on, whenever the time may come (will this time ever come?) with God's help I shall try to correct this omission. For the time being, farewell, be indeed strong and rejoice all together and remember from time to time our old friendship.

οζ' Κἂν ὑστερῆ τὰ τοῦ γράμματος, ἀλλὰ τὰ τῆς μνήμης προφθάνει· μαρτυρεῖ μοι γὰρ ἡ συνείδησις, ὡς ἐν μέσῃ ψυχῇ διὰ παντὸς ὑμᾶς περιφέρω καὶ μνημονεύω καὶ λόγων γλυκυτάτων ἐκείνων καὶ συναναστροφῆς μακαρίας καὶ φιλίας εἰλικρινοῦς καὶ θαυμαστῆς διαθέσεως· καὶ τίνας γὰρ ἂν ἄλλου
5 δικαιότερον μνημονεύσαιμι ἐπιλελησμένος ὑμῶν τῶν ἐρασιμίων κυρίων μου καὶ τῶν οὐχ ἦττον ἐμῶν φιλότατων τέκνων ἐκείνων ἢ ὑμετέρων καὶ τῆς θεοφυλάκτου πάσης οἰκίας, ἣτις φιλοφρόνως ἐξένισεν ἡμᾶς καὶ ἀνέπαυσεν οὐχ ἅπαξ ἀλλὰ πολλακίς, καὶ πρὸς ἦν ὅτε δύναμις φοιτῶντες ἐχαίρομεν, ὅπερ οὐδενί ποτε τῶν ἄλλων οἴκων ἐχαρισάμεθα, πολλῶν ἢ καὶ
10 πάντων οὐ παρέργως ἐφελομένων, οὐκ ἐκ λήθης οὖν τὸ ὑστέρημα (μὴ τοσοῦτον ἀχάριστος γενοίμην πρὸς τοὺς φιλότατους), ἀλλ' εἰς ἰλὸν βοθοῦ συμφορῶν (ψαλμικῶς εἰπεῖν) ἐμπαγεῖς καὶ πολλῆς ἀηδίας καὶ ναυτίας ἀναπλησθεῖς τὸ τῶν κακοσίων πέπονθα πάθος, οἵτινες ὁπόταν πρὸς τι σιτίον ἐφ' ἅπαξ ἀηδισθῶσιν, ἔσθ' ὅτε καὶ τὰ λίαν ἥδιστα δυσχεραίνουσι.
V f. 114v καὶ αὐτὸς οὖν, ἐπεὶ μήτε πέφυκα μὴ τ' ἔμαθον ψεύδεσθαι, παραπλήσιόν τι παθῶν, οὐκ αἰσχύνομαι τὸ ἀληθὲς ἐξειπεῖν πρὸς ὑμᾶς, τοὺς πάντων ἀνθρώπων ποθεινοτάτους ἐμοὶ καὶ οἰκειοτάτους. ἀλλ' ἀπὸ γε τοῦ νῦν, ἐπειδὴν καιρὸς παρεμπέσοι (ἔσται δ' οὗτος ὁ καιρὸς πότε;) σὺν θεῷ πειρασόμεθα τὸ ὑστέρημα διορθώσασθαι. πρὸς δὲ τὸ παρὸν ἔρρωσθέ μοι,
20 μᾶλλον δὲ συνέρρωσθε καὶ συγχαίrete, καὶ φιλίας ἀρχαίας ἐν καιρῷ μνημονεύετε.

77: 1-2 μαρτυρεῖ - περιφέρω: cf. Synes. Ep. 123, 7-8 (211 Garzya) || 11 Ps. 68,3 || 13-14 τὸ ἀηδισθῶσιν: cf. Greg. Naz. Orat. XXXI,2 (PG 36,133C)

COMMENTARY

Ep. 1. [To Michael Psellos]

Nay, I saw the season not as springtime but as even then late autumn. Whence did then come to us the nightingale of spring? It calls not from some grove or from a far off wood, but it flew into my very hands from where it now sings casting a spell over my ears. Moreover this most excellent bird appears in voice to be a nightingale and a swallow in form. On the one hand, because it sings clearly and sweetly, on the other, because it blends in its appearance two contrasting colours, just as the black colour of letters is high – lighted by the whiteness of paper.

From the text of the letter it is impossible to establish the context in which it was written. It could be taken as an exercise written in the fashion of a literary letter or as a letter that could be sent to any one on any occasion. Nonetheless, it was intended as a reply to a letter of Michael Psellos who in turn was prompted to write a lengthy answer; Kurtz-Drexl II, *Ep.* 105; Karpozilos, *Μαυρόπους*, 114-115. The «nightingale of spring» is a well known *topos* which Mauropous employed in order to reply to a letter he had received quite unexpectedly and which he wished to praise for its stylistic excellence. The author of this letter is proven to be his student Michael Psellos. This attribution is established from the reply which Psellos sent to Mauropous upon receiving *Ep.* 1. Psellos in his letter refers to his teacher's words of praise and specifically to his statement that his letters are likened to a nightingale:

Ep. 1, 3-6
Πόθεν οὖν νυνὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐα-
νὴ ἀηδῶν; οὐκ ἀπ' ἄλσους
τοθεν οὐδ' ἐκ δρυμοῦ φωνοῦσα
ακρόθεν ... τῷ τῆς μουσικῆς
ἰδυφώνῳ τὰς ἀκοὰς ἐγγύθεν κα-
τακηλεῖ.

Psellos, *Ep.* 105: 135, 7-11
... εἶτα δὴ ὥσπερ ἐν λειμῶνι ταῖς
ἡμῶν διαναπαύῃ ἐπιστολαῖς, ὅτι
σοι καὶ ἡ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἀηδῶν ἐμ-
μελῶς, ὡς ἔφη, ὑποπελλίζει τὸ
μέλος καὶ καταφωνεῖ τὸ ἄλσος,
τοσοῦτόν σοι τῆς ψῆθης ἐπιχέου-
σα, ὅπόσον σὺ πρὸς ταύτην ἀνοί-
γεις τὴν ἀκοήν.

In view of Psellos' reply, we may presume that Mauropous' letter was drafted in the context of a lively dialogue which seems to have been maintained

through an exchange of letters. This one most likely dates from the period during which Psellos was still a student of Mauropous (1035-1037). A further indication with regard to the chronology of the letter is the mention in Psellos' reply of Mauropous' decision to take up the monastic habit, an event which is dated about this period; see Karpozilos, *Μαυρόπουλος*, 27-28.

Psellos discloses that he had expected to receive some answers from Mauropous to the questions he had posed. Instead he got an evasive reply. His question was answered *κατὰ τὸ νοούμενον* but *κατὰ δὲ γε τὸ προβεβλημένον* τῆς λέξεως μένει ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ πάλιν τὸ ἄπορον (p. 133). What is more important is that he did not consider Mauropous' letter to be a sincere attempt to deal with his questions, but rather that he detected in it some touch of irony. A man of his perfection, however, cannot be captured by natural beauty since his nature is *ὑπέργειος*, continues Psellos. That, however, he finds pleasure in his letters is again understandable. In his perpetual quest *πρὸς τὴν διηνεκῆ τοῦ καλοῦ* κατανόησιν (p. 135), Mauropous also becomes weary because of the body's involvement. It is then that he seeks rest in his letters which become for him a meadow in which he finds repose: *εἶτα δὴ ὡσπερ ἐν λειμῶνι ταῖς ἐμαῖς διαναπαύη ἐπιστολαῖς, ὅτι σοὶ καὶ ἡ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἀηδῶν ἐμμελῶς, ὡς ἔφης, ὑποψελλίζει τὸ μέλος καὶ καταφωνεῖ τὸ ἄλλος, τοσοῦτον σοὶ τῆς φῶδης ἐπιχέουσα, ὁπόσον σὺ πρὸς ταύτην ἀνοίγεις τὴν ἀκοήν* (p. 135, 7-11). Does Psellos simply return the compliment or does he imitate Mauropous? In both letters there is a conscious attempt to exalt the addressee. For Psellos Mauropous is a *νοερός ἄνθρωπος*, freed from the bondage of matter and dedicated to communion with the divine. Of course on its face value this is an outright compliment which Psellos attributes to his friend without any reservations. In fact, the whole letter is centered upon this motive, his friend's perfection and otherworldliness which in itself becomes a barrier between the two men, virtually keeping them apart. The device Psellos has used is ingenious. He has capitalized upon Mauropous' decision to take up the monastic habit (p. 135, 12), seeing in this a superiority out of which he makes a virtue. In this sense, in Psellos' letter the driving force might be flattery. What is still open to question is Mauropous' letter. If he is, as Psellos says, *τῶν ἄνωθεν πηγῶν ἐμπορούμενος καὶ μόνῳ προσανέχων θεῷ* (p. 135, 16), that is set apart in his own world, secluded in his own way from his fellows, a seclusion which might be described, in Mauropous' own words, as an autumn which Psellos' letter changed unexpectedly into spring, then the charge of *aphilia* which Psellos levelled against him can hardly be justified. But again did Psellos mean this seriously or did he use it to clarify his point? That is, in spite of his misgivings towards his friend's detachment he finds now reasons to accept this kind of behaviour as a kind of spiritual perfection before which he succumbs.

2 ἐγὼ δὲ τὴν ὥραν οὐ μὲν οὖν ὡς ἔαρ ἐώρων: Themistios, *Orat.* XXVI, Dindorf 329D; Downey-Norman, vol. II, 148, is critical of those who employ an elaborate epistolary style: *καὶ μινυριζόντων ἐν τοῖς προλόγοις ἦρος ἐπαίνους καὶ χειλιδόνων καὶ ἀηδόνων*. On the theme of spring and the nightingale in epistolography cf. Karlsson, 106-109. Hunger, I, 225-226.

7-8 τὴν μὲν φωνὴν ἀηδῶν, τὴν δὲ μορφὴν χειλιδῶν: Both the nightingale and the swallow are employed to denote the coming of spring. According to a legend they were also associated with Athens and the Attic language. Cf. Procopius, *Ep.* 120, Hercher p. 580; Tzetzes *Ep.* 19, 4ff, Leone, 34. Cf. also Karlsson, 106 ff; Hunger, I, 226. For examples of how these themes are employed by tenth century byzantine epistolographers, see Darrouzès, *Epistoliers*, II 23 4; 65 1; IX 31 5.

23-24 καὶ τὰ θέλητρα πάντα... καὶ τὴν τῶν ἰυγγῶν: Letters in which friendship is the basis of the subject matter often employ a series of clichés. This is the case with the verbs *θέλγειν*, *κηλεῖν* and the substantives *φίλτρον* and *ἰυγξ*. The word *ἰυγξ* in the byzantine scholia of the second idyll of Theocritus is defined: *ἰυγξ... ἦν φασιν ἐν τῇ φύσει ἔχειν ἔρωτικὴν τινα πειθῶ· ἀφ' ἧς καὶ πάντα ἀπλῶς τὰ εἰς φιλίαν κινουῦντα φάρμακα ἰυγγας λέγουσι*; cf. Gaisford, *Poetae minores graeci*, V, 51; Karlsson, 102. Hunger, I, 223-224.

Ep. 2.

A candle at high noon is as superfluous as irrigation from a well in the middle of winter. Equally superfluous are letters when their carrier is an eloquent and talkative fellow. The truth of this opinion shall be testified by my messenger, for in the letters he bears there is no place for loquaciousness, once he starts to speak of his own affairs at length.

The role of the letter carrier became in epistolography an oft repeated theme which as a rule is connected either with the carrier's eloquence, which in effect renders the written message superfluous, with his fickleness which made him unreliable, (*ἀλλ' ἢ τῶν γραμματοφόρων ἀπιστία ὀκνηροτέρους ἡμᾶς εἰς τὸ γράφειν πεποίηκεν*), Darrouzès, *Epistoliers* VII 31 3, or with his haste which often did not allow enough time to write a letter, (*πλείονα μὲν γράφειν ὁ γραμματηφόρος ἐπειγόμενος οὐκ ἐπέτρεπε*), *ibid.*, VIII 26 18. Praise is also accorded to carriers, especially if they can be trusted (*ibid.* IX 17 3). See also Karlsson, 17. Tomadakes, 72-79. Hunger, I, 229-230.

9-10 πρὸς ὕδωρ - δημηγορεῖν αὐτὸς ἔλοιτο: The joke hinges on the idea of πρὸς ὕδωρ δημηγορεῖν, speaking by the water-clock; cf. Demosthenes 41, 30. Mauropous advises the addressee to give his full attention to the letter carrier, otherwise he will waste a lot of water timing him, especially since they are in the middle of summer, when water is most needed. Unless he would prefer to let the messenger speak with wine in the water-clock!

Ep. 3. [To an ecclesiastic]

It must be some unconfirmed report that disturbed you therefore, and brought to me all of a sudden the letter bearer and these unexpected letters from you. But I have not heard of any false accusations against you. I shall keep your letter without it giving rise to any suspicions from any one. In as much as it affects you, may this provocation pass by, for our days are evil as never before.

The exact cause of the addressee's alarm is not mentioned except that he had been involved in some dispute with a local *archon*. The fact that the addressee is an ecclesiastic (lines 12-13) could mean that the dispute was over ecclesiastical property.

Ep. 4. [To a government official]

I appeal to our friendship and family ties to let the bearer of the letter come under your service as *hypogrammateus*.

For a similar prooimion cf. letter no. 7, 1 (φιλικοῖς τε δικαίοις καὶ πολλοῖς ἐτέροις θαρροῦντες), in which Mauropous again seeks to secure some favour for friends. In the above letter Mauropous attempts to place his protégé in the service of a government official who commanded considerable authority in the State administration. The fact that he already had at his disposal several other *hypogrammateis* entrusted to him by the *δυναστεία*, a synonym perhaps of ἀρχή-ἐξουσία, supports the hypothesis that the recipient of the letter was an official in the State chancery. Psellos had also worked as *hypogrammateus*, imperial secretary, at the court of Michael V in 1041, *Chron.* I, 103. A similar position he had earlier occupied at the court of Michael IV (*Chron.* I, 75); cf. Lyubarsky, *Mikhail Psell*, 24. Whether Mauropous' protégé can be identified with his student and friend Michael Psellos is open to question. For the rank of *hypogrammateus*, his place and duties in the State bureaucracy, see Weiss, 22, 24, 78.

Ep. 5.

The good friend has chosen me for the office of *chartophylax* and proclaims me a guardian of the public? I have no interests in the offer and therefore there is no sense in undergoing the risks which this position entails. For this office a worthy person shall be found, who can perform this service. Let those who administer the affairs of the church seek out this person. To the ones concerned I have made known my decision to keep myself out of public life.

1 ὁ καλὸς ἑταῖρος: With this euphemism Mauropous refers to his correspondent; cf. line 14: ὡς αὐτὸς ἡμᾶς ἀξιοῖς. The lack of prooimion might suggest here a dialogue between the two men. The designation ὁ καλὸς ἑταῖρος is not some vague cover with which Mauropous wished to obscure his correspondent's identity but only a euphemism necessitated by the simple fact that he began his letter without the usual formalities but drove instead directly to the heart of the problem. Nevertheless the identity of the correspondent remains unknown except for the likelihood that he was a man of considerable influence, as the conclusion of the letter suggests (lines 48-51).

At what time during his life did Mauropous write this letter? Follieri, *Otto Canoni*, 10, dates it to 1043, at about the time that Mauropous was brought to the court of Monomachos, and shortly after Michael Keroularios became Patriarch. Follieri further maintains that, at the suggestion of Keroularios, Mauropous was invited to succeed one of his own friends in the chancery, a friend for whom he had written an epigram (Epigr. 34). Anastasi proposes that Mauropous served as *chartophylax* while he was a deacon; cf. *Michele Psello Encomio per Giovanni piissimo metropolita di Euchaita e protosincello*, transl. by R. Anastasi, Milan-Padova 1968, 6. The only evidence of Mauropous' diaconate is from the inscription of *Codex Monḗ Λειμῶνος* 43, now lost, in which it is stated that Mauropous was a monk and archdeacon in the monastery of Saint John the Baptist of Petra. Nowhere, however, is there any mention of Mauropous having been *chartophylax*, although he is regularly designated *synkellos*, *protosynkellos* and *proedros*; cf. Karpozilos, *Μαυρόπουλος*, 41-42. The only conjecture that could be safely ventured here is on the *παρὰ μικρὸν ἐγγηράσαντα*, line 6, which seems to suggest that although Mauropous did not consider himself too old for the office of the *chartophylax*, nonetheless he believed that it was too late for him to begin another way of life, especially under conditions which were so unfavourable, (cf. line 13, πῶς ἂν ἐν τοσοῦτῳ χειμῶνι καὶ ταραχῶ ..), and in an office which entailed much toil and tribulation for its incumbent. At this point Mauro-

pous then is leading a private life removed from the public sphere; cf. lines 25-26, ἔξω σάλου καὶ ζάλης ὥσπερ ἔχομεν νῦν, διαμενεῖν πειρασόμεθα...

In view of this fact, Mauropous must be considered still a teacher and a monk. His elevation to office would have entailed his ordination, a thought which made him extremely uneasy and put him on the defensive from the very beginning. The simple fact that he mentioned first his proposed ordination and then his would-be investiture to the office of *chartophylax*, argues in favour of this view.

The *chartophylax*, holder of an office within the patriarchal chancellery, ranked fourth in line of precedence. Normally he was recruited from among the ranks of the deacons. In contrast to βαθμός ἱερός (deacon, priest), which was conferred by sacramental ordination, the *chartophylax* was possessor of an ὀφφίκιον which signified a function like that of *oikonomos*, *synkellos* etc; cf. H.-G. Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich (Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft XII/2, 1)*, Munich 1959, 109-111; J. Darrouzès, *Recherches sur les ὀφφίκια de l'église byzantine (Archives de l'Orient Chrétien 6)*, Paris, 1970, 19-28, 53-59.

The statement θεὸν διὰ παντὸς ἐπεστράφθαι, line 12, implies his monastic vocation and leaves no doubt that by this time Mauropous had made up his mind not to change his way of life. Psellos in the encomium he wrote for Mauropous mentions his monastic vocation and activities as a teacher before he was brought to the court of Konstantinos IX. *Encomium*, 155, 163; cf. also his *Ep.* 105, Kurtz-Drexel, 135, 12.

46-48 Ταῦτα προετινάμεθα-καὶ θειοτέρων: Determined not to succumb to any pressure, Mauropous brought his case before the Emperor and the Patriarch. No record of his appeal has survived however, which would inform us of the results of his protest.

Ep. 6. [To a government official]

Your gift of bird game has afforded me such great pleasure that it can only be compared to the Old Testament banquet which the prophet once predicted. But once again you regret that you have been transferred to a new post, that is from Paphlagonia to Boukellarion. You should not be disturbed by your first experience in the office. Be patient and soon you will be completely happy. Claudioupolis is poor but you should not blame her misery.

The correspondent is called by Mauropous ὁ τῆς πολιτείας λαμπρὸς ὀφθαλμός, a characterization which might give us a hint as to his identity. The

man's mobility from one place to another, his bitter remarks about the misery of Claudioupolis, and his disappointment after an unsuccessful sojourn in the theme of Paphlagonia argue in favour of the supposition that he was a state official, most likely a provincial judge. Their role as tax collectors in the provinces has been elucidated by Weiss, 48-64.

Is it possible that here we have a letter of Mauropous addressed to Psellos? The possibility should not be ruled out. Michael Psellos began his career as a tax official working first in the Thrakesion and also in the Boukellarion theme; cf. *Ep.* 65, Kurtz-Drexel, 99. In what succession he held his various functions in these provinces it is not quite clear. Connected with this period also is his letter to a fellow student no. 11, Kurtz-Drexel, 13; cf. Lyubarsky, *Mikhail Psellos*, 25. Be that as it may, Mauropous' addressee had undergone a similar experience, by seeking like Psellos, his fortune in the theme of Boukellarion.

The material wealth of the city of Claudioupolis is described by Mauropous' addressee in bleak colours and the reason for this unhappy situation is τὸ τοῦ ποιμένου ἡμίτυφλον (line 38). The meaning of this phrase is not altogether clear, but in all likelihood it seems that it is a reference to the local bishop, who on account of his advanced age and poor eyesight was unable to protect the interests of the city. Except if by this phrase Psellos implied the bishop's overall negligence towards the welfare of his see either by abandoning his folk to the fiscus and the various levies of state officials or by closing his eyes to their plight. In this connection it should be remembered that one of Mauropous' two uncles had served for a period of time as bishop of this city; Psellos, *Encomium*, 143, 145.

1-2 καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν χειρῶν-ὄρνιθων ἀγέλαι: Bird-game as a gift that accompanied a written message is not altogether rare in byzantine epistolography; see Karpozelos, *Realia*, 25.

4 τὸ θεολογικὸν εἰπεῖν εὔκαιρον: A reference to a passage of Gregory of Nazianzus - alluded to here by his appellation as Θεολόγος - which Mauropous borrowed from *Orat.* XLIII, PG 36, 501D: ταῦτ' ἔλεγον καὶ ἡ θήρα παρῆν, ὄψον αὐτόματον, ἀπραγμάτευτος πανδαισία.

18-19 τῆς Παφλαγονόθεν ἐπὶ τὸν Βουκελλάριον μεταθέσεως: About the themes of Paphlagonia and Boukellarion cf. *De Thematibus*, Pertusi, 71-72. Their boundaries, however, had not remained the same up to the time of Mauropous. Claudioupolis, for instance in the *De Thematibus* is mentioned as a city in Boukellarion but Mauropous regards it as a Paphlagonian city. It is also possible that Mauropous referred to these

areas by their ancient names, thus paying little attention to the boundaries that existed in his own day.

Ep. 7. [To a government official]

With the right which friendship and justice give us we have wished to reprimand you in a friendly manner and reproach you for unfriendliness, on account of which its burden to those who manage my affairs has become a torture. As for your recantation, try at least to show it with deeds, thereby imposing upon us the debt of gratitude.

The official of whose unfriendliness Mauropous complained had drawn himself into a dispute which involved Mauropous' property and those entrusted with its care. Mauropous alleged that his addressee's unfriendliness, actually his uncompromising nature, had been witnessed by his own people on whose behalf he had intervened: ἀλλ' ἢ γε τηλικαύτη βαρύτης πρὸς τοὺς μετιόντας αὐτόθι τὴν τῶν ἡμετέρων οἰκονομίαν ἀψευδὲς κατέστη μαρτύριον (line 5). Of Mauropous' finances or land holdings we are not well informed. We know only that he possessed a family house in Constantinople (*Epigr.* 47-48) and that he had built a church in his birth place in Paphlagonia to honour Saint Theodore, and a monastery whose *typikon* he had instituted alone; Psellos, *Encomium*, pp. 158-159. Furthermore, we have established that Mauropous had received as *charistikion* land property of a monastery which he leased in turn to his relatives; *Kurtz-Drexl*, 221. Psellos, the author of the letter, wrote on this occasion to negotiate an agreement for Mauropous with the judge of the area about the value of the land which ἡ τοῦ Πύθωνος μονὴ had; *ibid.*, p. 263. From the evidence we have produced it can be assumed that Mauropous was in possession of some property which he administered with the help of his own relatives to whom he at times, as on this occasion, rendered his assistance. The possibility that this letter concerns his land holdings at the monastery of Python should not be ruled out.

Ep. 8.

Benevolence by its very nature is a pleasurable activity, giving equal joy to those who perform it and to those who receive it. Who then would be more worthy to receive a favour than this *akolouthos*? Honour with your attention the bearer of this letter.

Mauropous introduced the person on whose behalf the letter was written only with his title. The *akolouthos* corresponds to the *proximus* of the *schools* and to the *promandator* of the excubitor; Bury, *Administrative System*, 14, 62. In later times *akolouthos* was the title of the head of the Varangian guard: Oikonomidès, *Listes de Préséance*, 331. As to the addressee's position the text allows no conjecture.

Ep. 9. [To a government official - Michael Psellos?]

The messenger arrived late but his tardiness was compensated for by the good news he brought back about the *hegemon* and *archon* of our homeland Paphlagonia. I think, however, you should no longer be called *archon* of the Paphlagonians, but of the Maryandenoï as well. I also wish you still greater success and advancement in your career.

The strong interest which Mauropous maintained for his fellow countrymen and particularly for his own clan is attested by several of his letters, (nos. 6-7, 11). The present letter, however, concerns a friend whom Mauropous congratulates upon his recent promotion as *hegemon* and *archon* of Paphlagonia and Maryandenoï, but is no more specific than this as to his identity or the kind of office he received. According to Const. Porphyr., *De Thematibus*, ed. Pertusi, VI, 22, the metropolis of the Maryandenoï was the city of Claudioupolis. The content of the letter has striking similarities with that of no. 6. The fact that in both the recipient was dwelling in Claudioupolis furthermore suggests that we are dealing with the same person, possibly Michael Psellos, who had been transferred from Paphlagonia to Boukellarion, but nevertheless continued to be unhappy with the misery he found in Claudioupolis. The tone of this letter implies that the addressee has in the meantime succeeded in his goals, an event that allows Mauropous to congratulate him, calling him, I suppose, not in all seriousness *hegemon* and *archon* of the two regions in which he had been involved.

Ep. 10. [To a Parathalassites]

Others take pride in their noble descent and reputation. The *parathalassites*, however, is mostly known for his gentleness. Treat, therefore, our case with gentleness rather than with harshness for gentleness is numbered among the first of the beatitudes.

The recipient of the letter was an official to whom Mauropous refers to

here only with the name of his office, *parathalassites*. As the name indicates, the man was an official whose duty was the policing of the commerce of Constantinople. In order of precedence, the *parathalassites* stood fourteenth under the city *Eparch*, (Bury, *Administrative System*, 139, 36 and 73), but in the tenth and eleventh century this office had gained considerably in importance, Oikonomides, *Listes de Préséance*, 381. The text does not allow for any conjectures as to the identity of this particular *parathalassites*. From this same period, however, survive two epigrams of Christophoros Mytilenaios dedicated to the patrician and *parathalassites* Melias; *Epigr.* 15-16, ed. Kurtz, 9-11.

This letter to *parathalassites* and the next one - addressed to a judge - have a thematic affinity. It is conceivable that both letters were written on the same occasion, and as *Ep.* 11 attests, on behalf of some Paphlagonians who were accused of smuggling.

Ep. 11. [To a judge]

We acknowledge that the laws for smugglers and for similar offenders are necessary and therefore strict penalties be meted out to them. Yet we think that we should distinguish between those who are more inclined to crime and those who are less. For this reason we demand the most accurate judgment lest the men be brought forward unjustly and by way of insulting them needlessly. If they be found guilty, let them be treated with leniency. Otherwise deliver them up to God and his mercy.

The letter is addressed to a judge who was about to try some Paphlagonians accused of smuggling. Against this misdemeanour Byzantine law was strict, providing the confiscation of the cargo in question; cf. *Basilika*, LVI, I, 16 (Scheltema-Van der Wal). Mauropous pointed out that the accused were a simple folk, unaccustomed to intrigues. The law, indeed, made a distinction as he hinted, between those who violated them on purpose and those who were led astray by ignorance: ἐάν τις κατὰ πλάνην καὶ οὐκ ἀπάτην εἰς κλεπτοτελώνημα ἐμπέσῃ, διπλοῦν δίδωσι τὸ τέλος, καὶ οὐκ ἀφαιροῦνται αὐτοῦ τὰ φορτία, *Basilica, ibid.* Whether Mauropous knew this detail is not certain. He did, however, try to show that the case of his compatriots fell under the provision of this law which stipulated that a tax should be paid which was reckoned as twice as much as normal, while the cargo was retained, and not confiscated.

14 οἱ ἀπλοῖκοι Πασφλαγόνες: Mauropous here presents the Paphlagonians as rather naive and simple-minded. Yet elsewhere they are described in an abusive language: *Timarion*, ed. R. Romano, Naples 1974, 1121, 1195; cf. also B. Baldwin, *Timarion*, Detroit 1984, 135.

Ep. 12.

My trustworthy servant has been dispatched with a request. Lend him an attentive ear and give him that for which he asks, and we shall give thanks to God.

Ep. 13.

You have tormented me long enough, and with what you are doing you think that you serve the Lord. Finally, give us the favour we have asked before we die, because to resurrect the dead is only in the power of God and not in yours.

Ep. 14.

I have asked my lord a favour and I shall persist until I get it. There are two alternatives that I see: either that he give an immediate answer, thus getting rid of this burden or that he be indulgent about this unpleasantness.

Ep. 15.

Perhaps I am becoming a bore but I am giving you an opportunity to serve God, at this time with this request, at some other time with something else. Now I send you these people with the plea that you will fulfill their needs.

4 τόνδε προσάγω σοι - καὶ τόνδε: Reasons of secrecy and security occasionally prompted letter writers to avoid mentioning any names; Tomadakes, 96. In the correspondence of Theodoros Studites and specifically in the letters he sent from his exile the names had been originally substituted with a code on the basis of which, were later entered into the text; Hunger, I, 230. But it is not the same with those letters in which the authors refer to certain individuals with only ὁ δεῖνα, or as it is the case with Mauropous' letter, with τόνδε καὶ τόνδε. Actually such designations most of the time appear in letters of recommendation; see, for instance, Psellos, *Eps.* 52, 2; 70, 2; 92, 1; 133, 5, Kurtz-Drexler; Hunger, I, 230 n. 143. One could call them form-letters, as is the case also with the laconic letters comprising nos. 12-16 of this edition; letters that could have been dispatched when the occasion arose without altering anything in the text except for adding in each case the name of the person on

whose behalf the letter was written. In this case, the designation $\acute{\omicron}$ δεῖνα meant in the text a blank which was filled when the need arose. See also commentary on letter 61, line 18.

Ep. 16.

I send you this letter to assure you of my friendship and good will.

This group of letters, nos. 12-16, comprise a special category characterized by their brevity and known as «laconic letters». As a special category they belong almost to every major collection, their length varying from author to author. Hunger, I, 219-220; Tomadakes, 89-94, esp. 91ff.

Ep. 17. [To Gregorios]

When you live next to a coppersmith you are likely to stay awake at night, says the proverb; it is the same when you are dealing with an inquisitive fellow who never stops bombarding you with his questions, not even from afar. With regard now to the particle $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ in the sentence $\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu \mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu \pi\rho\acute{\omega}\tau\omicron\nu \lambda\acute{\omicron}\gamma\omicron\nu\epsilon\iota \acute{\epsilon}\pi\omicron\iota\eta\text{-}\sigma\acute{\alpha}\mu\eta\nu$ and the particle $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ in the sentence $\tau\acute{\iota} \delta\acute{\epsilon} \omicron\iota \text{Μακκαβαῖοι}$, I believe that both signify an *anapodoton* or *ameriston*. As for the η , in the sentence $\eta \beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\epsilon\sigma\theta\epsilon \kappa\alpha\iota \gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho \acute{\epsilon}\gamma\acute{\omega} \sigma\acute{\eta}\mu\epsilon\rho\omicron\nu \acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\iota\acute{\alpha}\tau\omega\rho \acute{\upsilon}\mu\acute{\iota}\nu$, I do not consider it an adverb nor do I write it with a circumflex and a rough breathing mark ($\acute{\eta}$). It is a disjunctive particle and I read the sentence as *hyperbaton* and not like you as an *anacoluthon*. About Solon's avarice in the passage of Saint Gregory: It was not Solon who was satirized for his greediness by the Father but Alcmeon. The discrepancy in this passage is obviously the result of a scribal error. As for the last question, I choose to write $\tau\epsilon\sigma\sigma\alpha\rho\iota\sigma\kappa\alpha\iota\delta\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\alpha\tau\omicron\nu$ and not $\tau\epsilon\sigma\sigma\alpha\rho\alpha\sigma\kappa\alpha\iota\delta\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\alpha\tau\omicron\nu$ out of habit and not for any particular reason.

This letter and the next one (*Ep. 18*) are devoted to the inquiries of an ecclesiastic by the name of Gregorios (cf. *Ep. 18, 7*) on points of grammar and biblical exegesis. The first question Mauropous dealt with was about the place of the particle $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ in the opening line of an oration by Gregory of Nazianzus on the Maccabees (*Orat. XV: Eις τοὺς Μακκαβαίους: Τί δὲ οἱ Μακκαβαῖοι...* PG 35, 912). To the inquiry of the addressee, Mauropous pointed out that Saint Gregory following a common practice applied the particle $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ alone and independently in the sentence as a unicum.

The next question which Mauropous proceeded to answer also concerned grammar and this time he dealt with the place of η in the sentence $\eta \beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\epsilon\sigma\theta\epsilon$

$\kappa\alpha\iota \gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho \acute{\epsilon}\gamma\acute{\omega} \sigma\acute{\eta}\mu\epsilon\rho\omicron\nu \acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\iota\acute{\alpha}\tau\omega\rho \acute{\upsilon}\mu\acute{\iota}\nu$ about the authorship of which nothing is said in the text, but identified again with a passage taken from the writings of Gregory of Nazianzus (*Orat. XXXVIII Eις τὰ Θεοφάνια PG 36, 317A, 4-5*): "Ἡ βούλεσθε (καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ σήμερον ἐστιάτωρ ὑμῖν) ἐγὼ τὸν περὶ τούτων παραθῶ λόγον τοῖς καλοῖς ὑμῖν δαιτυμόσιν. The addressee seems to have voiced the opinion that in this passage there is an *anacoluthon* to which Mauropous replied that it would make more sense if it were read as a disjunctive ($\acute{\eta}$).

It should be noted that in the surviving commentaries on the homilies of Gregory Nazianzus the two passages (*Orat. XV PG 35, 192* and *Orat. XXXVIII PG 36, 317*) have not been discussed, obviously because they concern more matters of grammar rather than theology. Cf. also Fr. Lefherz, *Studien zu Gregor von Nazianz: Mythologie, Überlieferung, Scholiasten*, Diss. der Philosoph. Fakultät der Rhein. Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Bonn, Bonn 1958, 111ff. Nevertheless, Mauropous seems to imply that they had given rise to different interpretations among scholars, especially the second passage: $\pi\lambda\epsilon\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\alpha \mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu \pi\rho\acute{\alpha}\gamma\mu\alpha\tau\alpha \tau\omicron\iota\varsigma \acute{\epsilon}\xi\eta\gamma\eta\tau\alpha\iota\varsigma \pi\alpha\rho\alpha\sigma\chi\acute{\omicron}\nu$ (line 63); $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron\iota \mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu \omicron\upsilon\acute{\nu} \acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\alpha \varphi\alpha\sigma\acute{\iota} \kappa\alpha\iota \omicron\upsilon\kappa \acute{\omicron}\lambda\acute{\iota}\gamma\alpha \pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ (line 71).

The third question was about Solon's alleged avarice mentioned in one of the orations of the Cappadocian Father. The addressee must have had in mind the oration IV of Gregory Nazianzus against Julian the Apostate: $\tau\acute{\alpha}\upsilon\tau\alpha \mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu \acute{\eta}\delta\eta \kappa\alpha\iota \pi\omicron\lambda\lambda\acute{\omega} \tau\iota\mu\acute{\omega}\tau\epsilon\rho\alpha \tau\acute{\eta}\varsigma \Sigma\acute{\omicron}\lambda\omega\nu\omicron\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\pi\lambda\eta\sigma\tau\iota\acute{\alpha}\varsigma \tau\omicron\upsilon \sigma\omicron\varphi\omicron\upsilon \tau\epsilon \kappa\alpha\iota \nu\omicron\mu\omicron\theta\acute{\epsilon}\tau\omicron\upsilon \acute{\eta}\nu \text{Κροῖσος ἤλεγξε τῷ Λυδίῳ χρυσοῦ... Orat. 4, 72, ed. Bernardi, 184, 2-5; PG 35, 593C-596A. Mauropous dismissed this passage as a scribal error, pointing out that Gregory in his epigrams chastised in fact Alcmaeon for avarice and not Solon; see PG 37, 701. In this passage then, Mauropous concluded, one should read not Solon's but Alcmaeon's name. One wonders, however, whether Mauropous or his addressee were familiar with the scholia of Pseudo-Nonnos (10th c) on this subject; see PG 36, 996D. The scholiast offered a spiritual interpretation of Solon's avarice which Mauropous seems to have ignored or perhaps not seriously considered: $\nu\acute{\nu}\nu \omicron\upsilon\acute{\nu} \acute{\alpha}\pi\lambda\eta\sigma\tau\omicron\nu \kappa\alpha\lambda\epsilon\acute{\iota} \tau\omicron\nu \Sigma\acute{\omicron}\lambda\omega\nu\alpha \acute{\omega}\varsigma \pi\lambda\epsilon\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu\alpha \pi\lambda\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\nu \tau\omicron\upsilon \text{Λυδίου χρυσοῦ ὀρεγόμενον θεάσασθαι. καὶ ὁ πλοῦτος δὲ εὐδαιμονία τις περὶ τὰ ἐκτός...$$

The letter ends with an explanation of why Mauropous has chosen to write $\tau\epsilon\sigma\sigma\alpha\rho\iota\sigma\kappa\alpha\iota\delta\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\alpha\tau\omicron\nu$ and not $\tau\epsilon\sigma\sigma\alpha\rho\alpha\sigma\kappa\alpha\iota\delta\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\alpha\tau\omicron\nu$. He explained that it was not so much a matter of consistency that he wrote in that manner, as his form was a question of habit. He further explained that such a usage has now prevailed as so many others have for no apparent reason such as $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\alpha\tau\omicron\nu\tau\alpha\pi\lambda\acute{\alpha}\sigma\iota\omicron\nu$ as opposed to $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\alpha\tau\omicron\gamma\chi\epsilon\iota\rho\alpha$, $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\alpha\tau\omicron\mu\pi\acute{\upsilon}\lambda\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ etc. For the change of the ϵ to ι ($\tau\epsilon\sigma\sigma\alpha\rho\epsilon\sigma\kappa\alpha\iota\delta\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$ - $\tau\epsilon\sigma\sigma\alpha\rho\iota\sigma\kappa\alpha\iota\delta\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$), see St. B.

Psaltis, *Grammatik der Byzantinischen Chroniken*, 2nd ed., Göttingen 1974, 20, 193.

2 ἦν μὲν ὡς ἔοικεν - λόγον: The popular saying (κατὰ τὸν δημόσιον λόγον) to which Mauropous refers is obviously the proverb ὁ χαλκεὺς βαρεῖ τ' ἀμόνι καὶ βαρεῖ τοὺς γείτονας, which is found in this form in a satirical song about the Empress Theophano, wife successively of Romanos II and Nikephoros Phocas. The meaning of the proverb is that in order to avoid evil consequences, one must avoid evil company and as such it was applied to Theophano's unsuccessful overtures toward Tzimisce who in the end brought about her ruin. Cf. G. Morgan, *A Byzantine Satirical Song?* *BZ* 47(1954) 292-297, esp. 296.

18 ἤρετό τις ποτὲ τὸν ἐλέφαντα: The fable which Mauropous narrated is not one of Aesop's nor can its source be established. In the *Διήγησις τῶν ζῴων τῶν τετραπόδων*, ed. V. Tsioumi, *Misc. Byz. Monac.* 15, Munich 1972, 106, 1. 943, the elephant is mocked because his legs lack joints: δίχα γονάτων γέγονας καὶ δίχα ἀρμονίας; cf. also *Physiologos*, ed. Sbordone, 159. Concerning the camel's joints, there is, however, a reference found in *Herod.* III, 103: κάμηλος ἐν τοῖσι ὀπισθίοισι σκέλεσι ἔχει τέσσερας μηροὺς καὶ γούνατα τέσσερα, to which Aristotle objected *H.A.* 499, 19.

49-50 Τὰ μὲν δὴ κατὰ τὸν θεῖον Κυπριανόν - τον μέγαν Ἀθανάσιον: Implied are the two Orations of Gregory of Nazianzus *Εἰς Κυπριανόν* (Orat. XXIV) and *Εἰς Ἀθανάσιον ἐπίσκοπον Ἀλεξανδρείας* (Orat. XXI); cf. Grégoire de Nazianze *Discours* 20-23, 24-26, ed. J. Mossay - G. Lafontaine, (*Sources Chrétiennes* 270, 284), 110-193 and 40-85; *PG* 35, 1081-1128, 1169-1193.

120-124 According to the Migne edition (*PG* 37: 701), there is a line missing from the epigram of Gregory of Nazianzus as cited by Mauropous. Accordingly, after line 121 there should be supplied ἀνὴρ γένει τε καὶ κράτει πνέων μέγα. Also the following variants should be taken into consideration: 121 Ἀθηναίων: Ἀθηναίων Mg; 123 ὄσωνπερ: ὄσονπερ Mg.

154-156 παρανομεῖν - συμμετρίαν: The rules of epistolography required that a letter should not violate the μέτρον, the συντομία becoming a virtue; cf. for instance, the advice on this matter of Gregory of Nazianzus in his letter to Nicoboulos (*Epist.* 51, ed. Galley, 66-68). In lengthy

responses often the μέτρον becomes the subject of discussions; cf. Tomadakes, 89-94; Hunger, I, 219-220. G. T. Dennis, *Gregory of Nazianzus and the Byzantine Letter*, *Diakonia: Studies in Honor of Robert T. Meyer*, ed. by T. Halton and J. Williman, Washington, D.C., Catholic University of America Press, 1986, 3-13.

Ep. 18. [To Gregorios]

Why do you force upon me unnecessary labours, holy father, by posing problems about which you know more than anyone else? And who could be more erudite than you who have devoted a lifetime to the study of books and sacred scriptures? I shall endeavour, nevertheless, to answer your questions. In the first passage (Luk. 12,52), the Evangelist does not seem to me that he produces next to the proposed five persons an invented sixth. The number three refers to the persons and their triple association that exists in them as pairs. In the passage of Mark 2, 26 it is not unlikely for Aviathar to have been also called Achimelech. The third problem concerning the passage in Saint Gregory, I consider it nothing but a scribal mistake, therefore I think we should retain in the text the name of Joab instead of Absalom. Similar scribal errors occur also in the New Testament, because copyists are not infallible nor blameless in their writings.

The addressee is the same person as that of the preceding letter (ὡς αἰ πρό μικροῦ σε διδάσκουσι παρ' ἡμῶν ἀποκρίσεις, line 100). Mauropous in his previous letter dealt only partially with the questions the addressee put to him, mainly the philological ones leaving inquiries on the Old and New Testament to be dealt with as a unit in this letter. The first question concerns the passage of Luk. 12, 52, in which there are six persons numbered instead of the five mentioned in the beginning. Mauropous offered an allegorical interpretation. He took the ensuing inconsistency in the Scripture to represent the Divine Mystery of the Word and the division its proclamation brings to the world. A more obvious solution to the problem which Mauropous does not take into consideration is that both the daughter and the daughter-in-law could be the same person; see, for instance, Origen's interpretation of this passage. M. Rauer, *Origenes Werke*. Neunter Band. (GCS 49) Berlin 1952², 265. Mauropous, instead, offered an allegorical interpretation seeing in this passage a violation of nature's laws which the Word brings about in order to illustrate the power of the Gospel. For a similar interpretation, see Gregory of Nazianzus, *Orat.* XXXIX, *PG* 36, 352-353A: Τί δὲ ἡ μάχαιρα; Ἡ τομὴ τοῦ Λόγου, ἡ

διαίρουσα τὸ χεῖρον ἀπὸ τοῦ κρείττονος καὶ διχοτομοῦσα τὸν πιστὸν καὶ τὸν ἄπιστον...

Mauropous next discusses the seeming inconsistency between Mark 2, 26 and I Reg. 21, 2 concerning the true name of the archpriest. Mark states that king David encountered Abiathar the archpriest in the Temple whereas in the Old Testament is said to have met the priest Ahimelech. Mauropous proposed that at that time the archpriest might have been Abiathar, but that it was the priest Ahimelech who was actually ministering in the Temple. In addition, he suggested that Abiathar may in fact have been Ahimelech's father, as it is suggested elsewhere in the Scriptures or that Abiathar may have also been called Ahimelech. Mauropous in answering this question may have drawn from the scholia on the Gospel of Mark, in which the same interpretation is given: εἶποι τις ἂν διώνυμον γεγενῆσθαι τὸν Ἀβιμέλεχ, ὥστε εἶναι τὸν αὐτὸν τῷ Ἀβιάθαρ... J.A. Cramer, *Catena graecorum Patrum in N.T., I*, Oxford 1840, 293.

The third problem discussed in the letter concerns a supposed scribal error. Mauropous maintains that in the encomium which Gregory of Nazianzus composed for Saint Athanasius one should read «the hand of Joab» and not «the hand of Absalom»: καὶ ἦν τὸ μὲν δρᾶμα ἐτέρων, ἢ δὲ χεῖρ Ἀβεσσαλώμ μετ' αὐτῶν, ὡς ὁ λόγος. Orat 21, 15, ed. Mossay, 140, 6-7; PG 35, 1097B. Mauropous supports his argument by producing as evidence II Reg. 14, 19: Μὴ ἢ χεῖρ Ἰωάβ... The context in which Gregory of Nazianzus employs the biblical phrase in question is the rebellion of Gregory of Cappadocia against Saint Athanasius; cf. the commentary of J. Mossay in *Grégoire de Nazianze Discours 20-23 (Sources Chrétiennes 270)*, 140, n. 2. If in this rebellion of Gregory of Cappadocia against Athanasius, his spiritual father, Gregory of Nazianzus saw a direct analogy to the biblical drama of King David and his son Absalom then the correction proposed by Mauropous is not justified at all. Mauropous, however, is convinced that Saint Gregory had originally written ἢ χεῖρ Ἰωάβ, thereby interpreting the passage in a new light. This reading in the light of II Reg. 14, 19 implies a behind the scenes action. In the tumultuous events of the period 338-339, which led to the expulsion of Saint Athanasius from his see, Mauropous visualizes also a behind the scenes action in which the moving power was what he calls the «hand of Joab», that is Gregory of Cappadocia. This intriguing possibility is supported from the first part of the sentence καὶ ἦν τὸ μὲν δρᾶμα ἐτέρων (PG 35, 1097B). Excluding, of course, an original mistake by Gregory of Nazianzus, Mauropous suggests that subsequent scribes replaced the correct reading being misled by another biblical passage, II Reg. 18, 18, which, however, cannot be properly linked to the events

described in Gregory's oration.

Scribal mistakes have often caused misunderstandings, Mauropous maintained, as, for example, in John 1, 28, where one should read «Bethabara» and not «Bethany» as the place beyond the Jordan river. Probably he knew that Origen championed this view by estimating that Bethany was close to Jerusalem at a distance of only fifteen *stadia*, whereas the river Jordan was further away at least a hundred eighty; Origenes, *Die Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte*, IV, Leipzig 1903, 149, 12-20. Other scholiasts and interpreters of this passage note that the more exact copies of the Gospel of John read Bethabara: Χρὴ δὲ γινώσκειν ὅτι τὰ ἀκριβῆ τῶν ἀντιγράφων ἐν Βηθαβαρᾷ περιέχει ἢ γὰρ Βηθανία οὐχὶ πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου, ἀλλ' ἐγγὺς πρὸς τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων: I. A. Cramer, *Catena Graecorum Patrum in Novum Testamentum*, II, Oxford 1841, 190-191; cf. also PG 106, 1217D. Drawing from such arguments (lines 106-107) and from the readings of certain groups of manuscripts of the Gospel of John, Mauropous concluded that even the Scriptures are not free of scribal errors. Another example would be Luk. 24, 13, in which it is stated that Emmaus is located sixty *stadia* from Jerusalem. Others, however, maintain that the town is located at a distance of only thirty *stadia* and others again say that it is even further than sixty. The controversy to which Mauropous alludes is connected with a less strongly attested reading of one hundred sixty *stadia* in Luk. 24, 13 found in certain manuscripts probably originating in Palestine, where from early times there were at least two towns known by the name of Emmaus. For a discussion of this problem, see R. Janin, Emmaus, in *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de Géographie Ecclésiastiques*, XV, 427-429.

78 τὸ δὲ θεολογικὸν τε καὶ τρίτον: Contrary to the two previous problems discussed, which concerned questions on biblical exegesis, the third is devoted to a passage of Gregory Nazianzus. Thus, the θεολογικὸν is a reference to his appellation as θεολόγος, by which Mauropous refers to him also in other instances; see *Ep.* 6, 4: τὸ θεολογικὸν εἶπεῖν εὐκαιρον.

Ep. 19.

You accuse us of admiring human power and of being friends and counselors of kings and that for this reason we have become unsociable and unapproachable? Must you be reminded that it was you who went last year to the palace accompanied by attendants, brought in on a carriage and that you came out of there with a bag of gold? As for me, I may have sat at the table of the Emperor, but with such pomp and gifts I was never honoured.

Mauropous' decision to give up his seclusion, which he most vividly describes in *Ep.* 5, must have been received with an amazement mixed with envy. Some probably thought that what he did was scandalous and others that it was a betrayal. At least this letter and the next one suggest it.

We assume that this letter was written some time after Mauropous was introduced to the court of Konstantinos IX by Psellos; *Chron.* II, 65-66. The date of this event which is only briefly mentioned by Psellos is established as ca. 1043. On this occasion Mauropous wrote also *Epigr.* 54, ὅτε πρῶτον ἐγνωρίσθη τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν. Because of this association with the palace he was accused by the addressee, an ecclesiastic (lines 3, 20), whose identity remains unknown, of vanity and opportunism. Mauropous replied that unlike his accuser, he did not exploit his friendship with the Emperor so much as to be rewarded by him: κενὰς γὰρ ἔχων ἀπεπεμπόμην, ἐπεὶ μὴ πάντα ἤμην, ὡς ἔοικεν, εὐτυχῆς μὴδ' εὐφυῆς κατ' ἐκεῖνον (lines 22-23). The κατ' ἐκεῖνον we take to imply the addressee. Though Mauropous refrains from speaking directly about his correspondent's actions in the palace, his remarks nevertheless make plain this person's vanity and greed: ἵνα γνωριμότερον ἔχῃς ἐκ τῆς πείρας καὶ τὸ ὑπόδειγμα (line 31); ἵνα χάριν σὴν παραλείψω τὸ χρηματιστικὸν καὶ φιλόπλουτον (line 35).

2 ἡμεῖς βασιλέων φίλοι: The close association of Mauropous with the Emperor Konstantinos IX is mentioned also by Psellos, *Encomium*, 154: θαμὰ τε ὀμίλει καὶ ἐκοινώνει τῶν ἀπορρήτων καὶ παρ' αὐτοῦ τὰ συνθήματα τῶν πρακτέων ἐλάμβανεν.

4-18 P. Magdalino in an article on Byzantine Snobbery, in *The Byzantine Aristocracy IX to XIII Centuries*, ed. by Michael Angold, Oxford 1984, 70, has paid particular attention to this passage, arguing that here we have a case of «Byzantine snobbery in action and in context». Whether this is the case with Mauropous' letter is rather doubtful. At any rate, it seems that Magdalino has not realized that the man who arrived at the palace with pomp and Mauropous' addressee are one and the same person.

Ep. 20. [To a teacher]

You always seem to wage a war against me, using all kinds of pretexts and complaints. At one time you accuse me of being idle and at another you abuse me and mock me for the opposite. In short you like nothing about me. But in reality I think it is you who are to blame, because you have failed me as a teacher, lest you wish to acknowledge your gratitude to me, since I have proven

that you have delivered your lessons to attentive ears. You would be better off were you to put your irony aside and rejoice with me watching your seed multiplying.

Mauropous' accuser this time is a former associate of his, whose attacks are here readily dismissed as amounting to sheer envy. About his identity the letter does not yield any concrete information. One might suppose that he had been a former teacher of Mauropous still active in his profession (lines 23ff, 35ff). Indeed, Mauropous calls him «teacher» but he does it in an ironic or rather sarcastic mood (line 27). Actually it were more his former counsels and admonitions for success, which Mauropous had at last put into practice that qualified him in his eyes to be called a teacher. It is possible to assume that their rift had its roots in their profession as teachers and that it became even more accentuated after Mauropous' latest success. Seeing this letter against this background, Mauropous' decision to abandon the λάθε βιώσας must have given rise to controversy among his colleagues.

17-18 μὴδ' ἔλαφος - ἀντὶ παρθένου: This proverb occurs in Libanios, *Ep.* 695, 2 and 1533, 3, in the scholia to Achilles Tatius 157, 1 and in Arethas, *Scr. Min.* II, 126, 12. It was said when an innocent was punished in the place of the guilty one. In this sense, the proverb goes back to the myth of the sacrifice of Iphigenia. Cf. R. Strömberg, *A Collection of Proverbs and Proverbial Phrases which are not listed by the Ancient and Byzantine Paroemiographers*. Göteborg 1954, 55; E. Zalzmann, *Sprichwörter und sprichwörtliche Redensarten bei Libanios*, Diss., Tübingen 1910, 21.

23 ἐπειδὴ - μαθήματα: This seems to be a proverbial phrase, but I have not been able to locate the exact source. However, it was also used, but in a different context, by Gregory of Nazianzus, *Orat.* XXXVIII, PG 36, 316C, from whom Mauropous may have borrowed it: ἐπειδὴ κακῶν διδασκάλων κακὰ τὰ μαθήματα.

Ep. 21. [To an ecclesiastic]

The «comforter» that I asked for stayed with me only for a short while. Your decision to take him away is unjust and against the divine will, even if you think that your deeds imitate it. At any rate, I shall now ponder the loss of a friend and how quickly he came and left.

The recipient of the letter was either a high-ranking church official or perhaps an abbot, the latter suggested by the remark: εἰ μὴ τοῦ σχήματος

ἀντικρυς τοῦ σεπτοῦ καταπεύδη... line 25-26 Cf. Lampe, s.v. στήμα meaning the monastic habit. The «comforter», line 2, of whom Mauropous was deprived must have been close to him, perhaps as a student or as an assistant in his school. If we assume that this letter was written at the same time and within the same context as the last two ones, then much of what is said in it can be seen in a new light. The unexpected change in the addressee's attitude, for instance, along with his decision to recall the person he had sent as a «comforter» could be seen as a reaction to Mauropous' decision to begin a new career. Mauropous suggests that the man behaved as if he were afraid to share his unworthiness. Notwithstanding the danger of placing this letter in a context other than its proper one, we are nonetheless inclined to propose that it belongs thematically and chronologically to the same setting as the last two letters.

34-35 ὁ τῶν πάλαι σοφῶν τις: The wise man of the story is Pythagoras. Mauropous has in mind Aphthonios, *Progymnasmata*, 4, from which the story is probably taken. The passage of Aphthonios has been applied by various authors in different contents: See G. Fatouros, *Textkritisches zum Geschichtswerk des Niketas Choniates*, *JÖB* 26 (1974) 124.

Ep. 22.

You have delayed in sending the pears I had asked for, and now that they have arrived in the middle of winter it is out of season. But that is all right because with your promptness you have possibly protected us from some illness.

In the correspondence of several Byzantine authors the topic of sending or receiving a gift often provided the occasion for developing out of an ordinary act of courtesy literary *topoi*, such as the one in this letter. For this and on the dispatch of letters accompanied by gifts of fruit, see Karpozelos, *Realia*, 21ff. Using this everyday and rather mundane incident, the delayed arrival of a shipment of fruit, Mauropous has produced a fine example of a «thank you» note for the delayed gift. This is done with such fine irony that one is not sure whether his purpose is to mock, to thank, or both.

1 Σήμερον πρόβαλλε καὶ αὔριον ἀκροῶ: Mauropous begins his letter with a quotation from Philostratus, *Vit. Soph.* 2, 9, 2 (II 88 Kayser), which must have become proverbial for its meaning. The words, according to Philostratus, belong to the sophist Aelius Aristides, who, when he was asked by the emperor Marcus Aurelius upon their meeting in Smyr-

na in AD 176 πότε ἀκροάσομαι σου («when will I hear a discourse of yours»), he answered back that he would have to wait until the next day: Τήμερον πρόβαλε καὶ αὔριον ἀκροῶ· οὐ γὰρ ἐσμὲν τῶν ἐμούντων, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἀκριβούντων. That is, Aristides was not one of those who spewed forth words, but one who employed them with precision. Mauropous applies this proverbial phrase in an ironic sense to underline his addressee's temperament, who, unlike Aristides, did not wait until the next day to respond to the request (πότε ἀκροάσομαι σου;), but took a whole season.

As noted above, Aristides' words became proverbial and were employed by subsequent authors, adapting them to similar situations and encounters. In such a context the words of the sophist have been used by Libanios; cf. *Libanios Briefe*, ed. G. Fatouros - T. Krischer, Munich 1980, 117-118, esp. 381-382. See also R. Pack, Two Sophists and two Emperors, *Classical Philology* 42 (1974) 19ff; A.F. Norman, Philostratus and Libanios, *ibid.*, 48(1953) 20ff. Michael Psellos, *Chron.* II, 155, has also made use of this passage. When in a similar situation he was confronted by Eudocia, the widow of the Emperor Konstantinos X, who wanted an immediate reply from him, he answered back paraphrasing the words of Aristides: τήμερον οὖν προβαλοῦ καὶ αὔριον ἀκροῶ, τοῦτο δὴ τὸ τοῦ ῥήματος.

Ep. 23. To Konstantinos [Psellos]

I met your students recently and spoke with them at length, admiring their knowledge and enthusiasm for learning. Your promotion to this teaching position is the best that could happen to us. You deserve it. On account of this, therefore, I promise the young men that I would do my best to help them in their pursuits. Needless to say, I will do everything in my power to assist you in your new task.

Opinions differ on the interpretation of this letter. Weiss, 69-71, who dealt extensively with the questions arising from the text of this letter has come to the conclusion that it is addressed to Konstantinos Psellos and that it dates before 1042, a chronology which reduces Psellos to the minor position of an insignificant official in the imperial service and far less of an important figure than Mauropous. The letter according to Weiss reflects the competition that existed between the two men as teachers and the consequent antagonism between their students, which was expressed in the case of Psellos' disciples with a strong

campaign for a higher position for their master, and better privileges for themselves. On the other hand, Wolska-Conus, *Les Écoles de Psellos*, 228-229, connected Mauropous' letter to the naming of Psellos as teacher of philosophy, a nomination which was bestowed upon him by Konstantinos IX at about the same time as Xiphilinos was named head of the law school. That the two men were appointed to their respective positions at the same time is attested to by Psellos himself, *Encomium of Xiphilinos*, Sathas MB IV, p. 433. This event is also mentioned by Attaleiates 21, 18 who makes reference to Psellos' promotion as teacher: ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ τῆς φιλοσοφίας οὐρανοβάμονος ἐπεμελήθη μαθημάτων, προέδρου τῶν φιλοσόφων προχειρισάμενος ἄνδρα τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς διαφέροντα γνώσει... Attaleiates places the nomination in the context of the educational reform of Konstantinos IX and the founding of the law school. Of course we have no details about the activities of Psellos as a «promoted» teacher of philosophy. Whether he continued to teach as πρόεδρος τῶν φιλοσόφων in his own private school, as he did before, with the support and approval of the Emperor and not in a new imperial establishment we do not know. It is certain however, that his nomination put him on the imperial payroll and that he was entitled as such to teach rhetoric and philosophy; Sathas MB IV, 434: ὥσπερ γὰρ εἰς μισθοφορὰν ἡμᾶς καταστήσας ἐπὶ τοῖς λόγοις, αὐθις ἀνακαλεῖται πρὸς ἑαυτὸν, τὴν πρὸς οὓς ἐξεδόθημεν συμμαχίαν ἀποτελέσαντας· καὶ ἡμεν τούτῳ ὄπερ ἑτέροις, ἐγὼ μὲν πρὸς ῥητορικὴν ἐξασκῶν καὶ τι καὶ φιλοσοφίας παραμυγνύς, ὁ δὲ τεχνῶν τούτῳ τὰ νομικά...

Finally, the chronological arrangement in the letters of Mauropous argues against the assumption of Weiss, 69ff. Actually it was written after the nomination of Psellos as ὑπάτος τῶν φιλοσόφων (1407), a title, however, which Mauropous seems to ignore at this time, perhaps because it was not yet officially introduced. It should be noted also that P. Lemerle, *Le Gouvernement des Philosophes, Cinq études sur le XIe siècle byzantin*, Paris 1977, 221-223, placed the letter in an altogether different context maintaining that at this time Psellos wanted to secure a teaching position in the school of Saint Peter in Constantinople, a position which he finally received with the help of his students, to whom Mauropous also refers in his letter.

20 πρὸς τὴν αὐτοκρατορικὴν ἐξουσίαν ἀνήκει: Correctly, P. Speck, *Die Kaiserliche Universität von Konstantinopel*, Munich 1974, 23, n. 5, has noted that there were no separate courses offered which prepared some for a teaching career and others for the State service. There was only one curriculum that was offered, regardless of one's aspirations. Mauropous promised his support to them whether they wanted to become teachers or State officials.

Ep. 24.

Short and unpunctual my letters might indeed be considered, but I think my writing habits are better than yours; therefore, do not complain. The bearer of the letter is a former student of mine.

Ep. 25.

The further you retreat the more you are pursued and you will not get rid of me until you fulfil my request: to rescue this man from the danger with which he is beset.

Letters of this kind as a rule spare us those details which the bearer was expected to supply himself. Consequently we are again left with only a few hints from which we gather that the man was involved in some kind of conflict with the «holy tyranny», a euphemism for the power of the church (?).

Ep. 26. To the Emperor [Konstantinos IX Monomachos]

The candle of the body is the eye. When it is lit the whole body is illuminated and vice-versa, when it is darkened the whole body is darkened. Since we are parts of your body, my Despot, in the manner that we are part of the body of Christ, you are not only for us the eye but the whole head, because you are the representative of Christ and in His likeness. On account of this truth, we pray for your welfare, because when you prosper we also prosper, regardless of the adversities we encounter. We also pray that you will not allow yourself to be grieved or become excited with thoughts of revenge against the ungrateful nor should you be inflamed with justifiable anger against them. You will indeed render a service unto God, who gave you this bloodless victory, if you will show your mercy and forgiveness to those who rose in rebellion against you.

Mauropous, in this masterpiece of Byzantine epistolography, pleads with the Emperor Konstantinos IX to spare the lives of the captured soldiers who took part in the crushed rebellion of Leon Tornikios (1047). The principal argument which Mauropous put before the Emperor was the following: you were made ruler to rule over lives given to you by God and for which you will be held accountable. A brilliant step on the part of Mauropous, who was anxious to prevent a witch hunt, which could begin at a signal from the Emperor.

The outbreak of Leon Tornikios revolt, its escalation and dramatic mo-

ments is described in considerable detail by Psellos, *Chron.* II, 8ff; Ioan. Skylitzes, Thurn, 438-442; Attaleiates, 22-30. Another important source for the same event is the oration which Mauropous held after the city was freed from the besiegers: *χαριστήριος λόγος ἐπὶ τῇ καθαιρέσει τῆς τυραννίδος; Orat.* 186; Bollig-de Lagarde, 178-195. The two leaders and protagonists of the rebellion Leon Tornikios and Ioannes Batatzes were taken prisoner and condemned to be blinded. Both Psellos, *Cron.* II 29 and Mauropous, *Orat.* 186, 193-194, point out that the punishment of the captured rebels became the subject of deliberations and that there were different opinions voiced on the fate of the defeated. Mauropous in his discourse, which he delivered on Dec. 29, 1047, implies that neither he himself nor the Emperor approved of this punishment. Significantly, the Emperor refrained from inflicting it upon the rest of the rebels despite the different views on the matter (*ibid.* 193-194). In his letter to the Emperor, Mauropous pleaded the case of the defeated who were on the verge of annihilation, because they were powerless at the mercy of a ruler whose wounded pride could make him irresponsible. More than that a certain segment of the populace was demanding the punishment of the defeated. The letter must have been written, then, immediately after the capture and punishment of Tornikios and Batatzes and certainly before Mauropous delivered his oration on Dec. 29, 1047, because in his panegyric the Emperor is presented as an adherent of clemency and good will. Furthermore, from the letter it becomes quite clear that the Emperor at that point had not yet been convinced of the necessity of showing moderation towards the defeated partisans of Leon Tornikios; cf. Lefort, *Trois Discours*, 281-282; Karpozilos, *Μαυρόπουλος*, 142-145. Actually he was more inclined to a punishment which would serve as an example to any other future usurper. Mauropous, however, dissuaded him with his letter perhaps because he feared new troubles. The purpose of his oration was to pacify the spirits of agitation and to justify the imperial policy. Both the letter and his oration prove that Mauropous at this period was enjoying the confidence of the Emperor, being one of his principal advisers, a fact that is also mentioned by Psellos, *Encomium*, 154.

2 δέσποτά μου ἄγιε-θεόστεπτε: For the emperor as chosen and crowned by God, cf. O. Treitinger, *Die oströmische Kaiser - und Reichsidee*, Jena 1938, 34-38, 61-62. Also F. Dölger, *Byzanz und die europäische Staatenwelt*, Ettal 1953, 10-13.

2-3 ὁ λύχνος τοῦ σώματος ἐστὶν ὁ ὀφθαλμός: In the opening lines of the letter Mauropous alludes to the punishment the Emperor in his anger meted out to Batatzes and Tornikios. Ingeniously connecting this cruel

act to the biblical passage (Matt. 6:22, Luk. 11:34) he warns him against any other similar action towards the partisans of the two captured leaders. For a similar use of the metaphor ὁ λύχνος τοῦ σώματος, see Theodoros Studies, *Ep.* 185, *PG* 99, 1569B: καὶ ἀλγεινὸν (πῶς γὰρ οὐ;) τὸν λύχνον τοῦ σώματος ἀπολωλέκεναι...

14-15 οὐχ ὁ πιέζων χειμῶν - ἡ σπάνις: This is certainly another important indication for the chronology of the letter (winter of 1047) and also a reference to the hardships of that period; cf. Skylitzes, ed. Thurn, 441-442: ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ὁ χειμῶν ἐπέστη καὶ τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐσπάνιζον...

56 εἰ μὴ τις τὸν κρείττω βασιλέα: For the double implication of the emperor as master of the world and slave of Christ, see Dölger, *Byzanz*, 23; Treitinger, *Die oströmische Kaiser*, 146, n. 8.

78 καὶ τὰς ἀγιωτάτας δεσποίνας καὶ βασιλίτσας: Mauropous alludes to the Empress Zoe and her sister Theodora, who together with the Emperor are likened to an invisible triad (line 79), a metaphor which he uses also in his epigrams, cf. *Epigr.* 54, 118ff.

Ep. 27.

To provoke someone or for someone to become provoked is nothing new in our experience; it is part of our human nature and existence. The only difference between you and me, my Lord, is that you are a man of rank and nobility whereas I have nothing to boast about. Perhaps the only possession that I can claim is my freedom of thought and my conviction about it. For I prefer to be persuaded about something but never to accept an opinion by force. It was because of this conviction that I may have appeared to you somewhat quarrelsome. If, however, I did behave so, it was not because I have no respect for you, it was only because I do not suffer to be easily defeated by presumption.

To attempt a sketch of Mauropous' personality only from fragmentary inferences is perhaps unfair both to him and the historical truth. Yet this letter, to a certain extent, completes his portrait. The letter is an apology of his for having wounded the feelings of his addressee, a man of rank and authority. Mauropous has nothing to show in comparison except for τὸ τῆς γνώμης εὐθέρον, a trait of his character that Psellos knew quite well: τίς γὰρ τούτου τὴν γνώμην εὐθύτερος ἢ τίς οὕτω στάθμη δίκαια τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐχηρημάτισε; *Encomium*, 153.

The details which are essential in establishing the rift between the two men are also missing from the letter. The few allusions that are made suggest that Mauropous for some reason was reluctant to yield to his addressee and his clan. The person referred to in ἐνιδόντες τῷ καταψευδομένῳ and the ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἐκείνον μὲν ἀντεπέσομεν, (lines 14 and 25), is, we suppose, one and the same but is not the addressee - πρὸς ἐκείνον μὲν, the second person involved, is contrasted next with πρὸς δὲ σὲ τυχόν (line 26).

21 ἐν ἀπραγμοσύνη ζῶντι τοσαύτη: cf. *Ep.* 5, lines 3-4, 11-12.

Ep. 28. [To Ioannes Xiphilinos?]

To urge you to do me a favour is only natural. It would be like urging an eagle to fly, or a horse to run. Besides we are not strangers to each other. But take care not to overexaggerate when you speak about me. Friendship is blind and therefore cannot be a good judge. Moreover, others might become suspicious and therefore suggest that you proceed with moderation in your defence of me. Spare me then your praises, so that you may remain both a friend and at the same time an impartial judge.

4-6 τὸν δὲ ταύτης - φιλορώμαιον: Lyubarsky, *Mikhail Psell*, 50, has pointed out that Mauropous here alludes to his friend's familiarity with Roman law, a hint which makes it possible to identify Mauropous' addressee as Ioannes Xiphilinos. The study of law as being a heritage bequeathed to them from the Romans is actually a *topos*; cf. for instance Psellos' *Epitaphios* to Anastasios Lyzix, ed. Weiss, p. 279: ἐπὶ ταύτη δὲ καὶ τὴν Ἰταλῶν μοῦσαν προσειληφώς. Mauropous' familiarity with Roman law is also praised in a similar fashion by Psellos, *Encomium*, 148: οὐδὲ τῆς Ἰταλῶν σοφίας ἡμεληκώς... That the letter was most likely addressed to Xiphilinos is better attested by the next letter, no 29, in which Xiphilinos' name Ioannes is explicitly mentioned and also his profession as judge - ἀλλὰ χώρα οὐ τῆ ἀγωγῆ κατὰ σέ (*Ep.* 29, 12).

The addressee will in his capacity as a judge participate in Mauropous' case. However, in what kind of situation Mauropous is involved the letter does not specify.

18-19 εὐνοία - ψήφους: cf. Synes. *Ep.* 1, 14, ed. Garzya, 4; αἱ γὰρ εὐνοιαὶ δειναὶ δεκάσαι τὰς ψήφους.

25 τὸ ἀπαράγραπτον - προσμαρτυρεῖται: We do not know the proverb to which Mauropous here refers, but it seems that phrases like ἀπαράγρα-

πτος μάρτυς or ἀπαράγραπτος μαρτυρία had become commonplace; cf. Theodoros Studites, *Ep.* 25 (PG 99: 1124C). Tzetzes, *Ep.* 66, 6, ed. Leone, 93. Eustathios of Thessalonica, *Opusc.*, ed. Tafel, 50, 43.

Ep. 29. To Ioannes

My desire to see you is contradicted by my ill health which wants to postpone it for another time. You, not I can decide, Ioannes, which party shall win, because you have the power to fulfill my request.

12 τὸν Ὀμηρικὸν ἵππον ὄρα: Implied is perhaps the proverb with which Mauropous opens his previous letter no 28, ἵππον γὰρ ἐπαφίημι πεδίῳ τὸν δρομικόν, lines 1-2. By referring to the Ὀμηρικὸς ἵππος Mauropous pleads for an immediate action and response from his addressee. That is, if the addressee grants his «request», Mauropous will come like the Ὀμηρικὸς ἵππος, so great is his πόθος. A similar passage which may shed some light on Mauropous' use of this proverbial phrase may be found in Gregory of Nazianzus, *Orat.* XLIII, PG, 36, 592B:... ἀλλ' ἐπιμειναντά με ταῖς Ἀθήναις χρόνον οὐχὶ συχνόν, ποιεῖ τὸν Ὀμηρικὸν ἵππον ὁ πόθος καὶ τὰ δεσμὰ ῥήξας τῶν κατεχόντων, κροαίνω κατὰ πεδίων καὶ πρὸς τὸν σύννομον ἐφερόμην.

12 εἰ δ' οὖν: for its usage by byzantine epistolographers, see Karlsson, 144ff.

12-13 χώρα οὐ τῆ ἀγωγῆ κατὰ σέ: the phrase is taken from the jargon of the judges (also another indication to the addressee's profession); cf. for instance the expressions χώρα τῆ ἀγωγῆ or χώραν ἔχει ἡ ἀγωγή; *Basilika* XVIII, 1, 7, p. 871; XVIII, 1, 1 3, p. 872, ed. Scheltema-Van der Wal.

Ep. 30. [To Ioannes Xiphilinos?]

Certainly good fortune will come upon you because the sign is good and promising. On account of this event I rejoice together with both of you and pray that your success may be brought to an auspicious end.

Wolska-Conus, *Les Écoles de Psellos*, 229, connected this letter with no 23, supposing that it is addressed to Psellos and that it refers to the ascending career of his colleague Ioannes Xiphilinos and particularly to the success of their school, where philosophy and law were taught. The «defeat» of the one brother, καλὴν ἠττώμενος ἦτταν (line 7) is taken to mean the concessions

which Xiphilinos was forced to make as to the curriculum of their school, a matter of dispute between the two teachers and their students, which was resolved through the mediation of the Emperor. Its stylistic similarities with no. 30, 2 (καὶ τί γὰρ ἂν χρηστότερον γένοιτο - τί δ' ἂν γένοιτο κάλλιον τῆς τοῦ ἔμοῦ σοφοῦ Ep. 23, 11) make this identification of the addressee plausible.

3-4 Τὸν Ἐνγούνασιν - παρανατέλλοντα: Both manuscripts (V and A) transmit ἐν γούνασι, but the context, I think, requires to read instead the name of the constellation Ἐνγούνασιν or as it is transmitted in some manuscripts Ἐνγούνασιν. Aratus, *Phainomena* 63-70, describes Engonasin (The Man on his Knees) as a constellation which is often seen rising and setting on the selfsame night (616-618). Engonasin appears among the northern constellations like a man sitting on bended knee with his right foot resting on the head of the Dragon. According to later interpretations this constellation represents Hercules; cf. M. Erren, *Die Phainomena des Aratos von Soloi. Untersuchungen zum Sach und Sinnverständnis*, Wiesbaden 1967, 43-45. The depiction of Engonasin as a man laboring and wrestling and yet being the victor was probably known to Mauropous from Aratus' *Phainomena*. Mauropous applied this depiction to the one of his two addressees, whom he likened to an ἀρτιφανῆς ἀστήρ, I suppose, in order to stress his defeat which was more graceful than any victory (lines 5-6).

Ep. 31. [To a judge]

Your decision, in the case of this poor man, as far as I am concerned, was good and just. What I am now asking is not meant as a contradiction. I am pleading only for a more clear interpretation of your pronouncement. I wish to know which party will pay the cost of the court.

The impersonal style and content of the letter make it unlikely that it was addressed to Xiphilinos, as Lyubarsky, *Mikhail Psell*, 50, suggests.

Ep. 32. [To a judge]

The suffering seek relief from a doctor and those caught in a storm trust their lives to the helmsman. Since everyone who seeks shall find, as the Scripture says, at the end this wretched man has also found his own protector in you.

13 τὸ ἐπάγγελμα τοῦ τε θρόνου: Probably implied is the addressee's profession as a judge.

Ep. 33. [To Michael Psellos]

To others my *Chrysorroas* has been generous but not to me; therefore I shall not cease to complain until I instill some sense into him. The discourse you have requested has been sent to you. I have laboured to imitate your language and the extravagant style in which you write. I have been waiting to receive an answer from you a long time now. However, I postpone a lengthy response to a more opportune time.

That the letter was addressed to Psellos could have been argued from the naming of the addressee as *Chrysorroas* and Egyptian Nile, attributes for one's exceptional fluency and rhetorical skills, of which Psellos could claim both and justifiably so. The proof, however, for this attribution is supplied by the response Psellos wrote to this letter, Kurtz-Drexel no 33. Our assumption that both letters were written at the same time and that the one was a response to the other, is further vindicated by a comment which Psellos made about a statement of Mauropous that τὰ νομίσματα δ' ἔδει τοσοῦτον κυϊσκόμενα χρόνον, μέγεθος τε λαβεῖν ἐν ταῖς χρονίαις ᾧδῖσι (lines 16-17). Psellos commented upon this point that, νῦν δὲ ὁ τόκος ἀμβλύς, ὅτι τὰ παρὰ τῶν λόγων ἀσύλληπτα (Epist. 33, Kurtz - Drexel, 51, line 23). About the designation of the letter as γέννημα and τόκος, implying the spiritual parenthood of the epistolographer, see the discussion of Hunger, I, 226.

Mauropous seems to have had something concrete in mind when he spoke about Psellos' indifference, otherwise his decision to send him a discourse (σκεμμάτιον) which supposedly imitated Psellos' language and superior attitude would appear absurd. In view of this consideration we may assume the following. Mauropous, troubled by some problems, has felt abandoned by Psellos, for whom things still go well. The *anabasis* of the Nile might be a hint of this (line 4). It is in this context then that Mauropous seeks to reproach him for his indifference, at a critical time when he needed his help more than ever, instead of which he had to be contented with letters full of empty words and praises: ...τὴν δὲ σὴν μεγαλόφωνον παραμιμούμενον γλῶσσαν, ἢ συνήθειαν ἔχει τῶν τε ἄλλων πολλάκις ἐν τοῖς ὑπὲρ ἀξίαν ἐπαίνοις καὶ ἡμῶν οὐχ ἥκιστα καταψεύδεται (lines 11-13). Such a charge naturally touches upon a sensitive spot in Psellos' character, his sincerity to his friends or whether he was capable of real friendship at all; cf. a favourable treatment of this question by Tinnfeld, *Freundschaft*, esp. 165-168.

Finally, the last of Mauropous' statements, somewhat obscured by the metaphor in which it is framed (τὰ νομίσματα δ' ἔδει, τοσοῦτον κυϊσκόμενα χρόνον, μέγεθος τε λαβεῖν ἐν ταῖς χρονίαις ᾧδῖσι) says in effect that it was

about time he received an answer from him, a sign that he is still his friend (lines 16-17). It is in relation to this metaphor that Psellos answered back that $\nu\upsilon\nu$ δὲ ὁ τόκος ἀμβλύς, implying that the circumstances were not favourable for complying with Mauropous' wishes. As to his charge that he has been unfriendly to him, Psellos replied that ever since the two were separated and Mauropous stopped writing to him (was there a quarrel between them?) he ceased also to write to Mauropous. All this talk, of course, was only leading to the main point of his letter, that Mauropous has often changed his mind about him and has now once again become critical of him because of his difficulties (line 30). But their friendship stands above these adversities and should neither be dependent upon external events nor be conditioned by them: ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνα μὲν ἔξωθεν ἡμᾶς περιρρείωσαν, πεπήχθω δὲ ὁ λόγος, ὥσπερ δὴ ἀλλήλοις ὁμολογήσαμεν (p. 52, line 3). There is no doubt that Psellos' letter must have been written in response to Mauropous' letter, and at a time of crisis for him. The next question to ask is: at what time were these two letters written? Psellos' letter seems to have been drafted soon after Mauropous was ordained bishop of Euchaita. He addresses him as θεοτίμητον δέσποτα, but no mention is made of his bishopric. He also alludes to the holy myron of his ordination (p. 52, lines 19-24). However, the first mention that Mauropous makes of his election comes much later, in letter no 45, although the preliminaries to it are implied in several other letters, 34, 37-38, 43-44. In view of this fact, we may assume that Psellos might not have responded immediately to this letter, but only after the storm had passed. This explains in part why Mauropous was already critical of him, entertaining no real hopes. If this holds true, then Psellos had failed to act as a friend even though he tried to save face by arguing that friendship must be independent of the events that take place around us.

Ep. 34.

I no longer pity you for being removed from this place, because you have been spared the problems that confront me. Life has become unbearable here, so I think you are better off where you are. If some of our problems reach you they are nothing but the smoke from the fire that goes on here.

The situation in the letter could be part of that which Psellos describes in his *Chron.* II, 65ff, namely his falling from power together with a group of former favourites of Konstantinos IX. Whether Mauropous' addressee was part of this group is not certain.

Ep. 35. [To an ecclesiastic]

A new *protonotarios* comes to you. His profession has a bad reputation but the man is actually a good fellow, therefore be kindly disposed towards him.

The *protonotarioi* were not a particularly liked group of tax officials, because they were considered the scourge of the provinces; cf. Bury, *Administrative System*, 94; Oikonomidès, *Listes de Préséance*, 315; Dölger, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der byzantinischen Finanzverwaltung, besonders des 10 und 11 Jahrh.*, *Byzantinisches Archiv*, 9, Leipzig 1927, 68-69. Weiss, 16, 49, 63 maintains that in the eleventh century the functions of the *protonotarioi* in the field of finances was taken over by the theme judges (Themenrichter). Mauropous, at any rate, introduces this particular *protonotarios* to his addressee simply as a tax collector, asking him to receive the man kindly. We may, therefore, infer that in the eleventh century the *protonotarioi* of the theme had been deprived of their original functions and that their office had lost its importance degenerating to that of a simple tax collector.

7 τὸ γραφικὸν καὶ ἡμέτερον: The phrase seems to imply that his correspondent was an ecclesiastic with whom Mauropous identifies himself. But it could also refer to Christian gospels as opposed to the other types of writings Mauropous has hinted at (e.g. tragedy).

Ep. 36.

You have indeed gone through trials and hardships but God has not forsaken you. Thanks, then, be to Him because he came to your aid. Forgetting now the past let us look to the future. His mercy will abide with those who fear and love Him.

The sufferings of Mauropous' addressee had resulted from some particular events which Mauropous designated summarily as τῆς κάτω περιφορᾶς καὶ συγχύσεως, an allusion to the anomalous circumstances of the time or perhaps to the sweeping actions of Konstantinos IX; Psellos, *Chron.* II, 65ff.

Ep. 37.

You do an injustice to my Philosophy by depriving her of a possession most dear of all. I am talking about simplicity. You have tried to change my moderate way of life by bestowing upon me extravagance and luxury. I accept

your gift but I ask you to spare me in the future your generosity. At present, I am in a grievous situation suffering both spiritually and physically.

The opening lines remind us of a letter of Saint Basil addressed to Olympius: οἷα ποιεῖς, ὦ θαυμάσιε, τὴν φίλην ἡμῖν πενίαν καὶ φιλοσοφίας τροφὸν τῆς ἐσχατιᾶς ἀπελαύνων (*Epist.* 4, ed. Courtonne, p. 15, 1-2). Both letters deal with the same situation: they are written as a protestation and as an act of courtesy, acknowledging the reception of a gift, whose richness does not conform to the simple way of life the authors live. Mauropous has used the letter of Saint Basil as a prototype and has enlarged upon its theme.

1 ἄδικεῖς τὴν φίλην φιλοσοφίαν: In both letters the authors designate their simple mode of life with the term «philosophy». Already from the time of the christian fathers the term «philosophy» became applied to the full discipleship of Christ, that is as a characterization of the life of *askesis* and of the renunciation of the world; cf. Fr. Dölger, Zur Bedeutung von φιλόσοφος und φιλοσοφία in byzantinischer Zeit, in *Byzanz und die europäische Staatenwelt*, 197-208, esp. 198-199. G. Podskalsky, *Theologie und Philosophie in Byzanz* (*Byzantinisches Archiv* no. 15) Munich 1977, 21-22.

10-11 τί γὰρ τὰ ἄλογα - σῆτον: The word play ἄλογα - λόγους obviously alludes to the gift of the addressee which in Mauropous' words did not do justice to his simple way of life devoted to intellectual pursuits. The word play may also allude to the very nature of the gift that he received, namely a horse. This supposition could be substantiated to a degree, if we take literally the contrast that follows next: ὡς τὰ ἄχυρα πρὸς τὸν σῆτον (line 12). For the sending of a horse as a gift, a not so uncommon gesture, since it is witnessed by several examples, see Karpozelos, *Realia*, 27ff. For the word ἄλογον in Greek and Byzantine sources, see G. N. Hatzidakis, *Einleitung in die Neugriechische Grammatik*, Leipzig 1892, 34-35.

Ep. 38. [To a high - ranking ecclesiastic]

I am not really worthy of your words of praise and of the recognition you have bestowed upon me. In fact, I wondered whether you were not biased when you made this decision. However, your letter in the end convinced me that you were quite serious and sincere; otherwise, you would not have written it. It was then that I decided to accept your advice as a divine call. But now I am afraid

that having been persuaded by you I will not be able to restrain myself from emotion any longer. What I fear is that I will eventually end in a disastrous flight as Icarus once did. Who would ever forgive my foolishness in daring to fly without even having waxen wings? Not to mention, of course, the ridicule that I would suffer. Imagine, next to the Icarian Sea also an Ioannion one. But now that you have made the impossible quite possible through your efforts, I am confident that you will not only sustain me with words of praise but with your prayers as well.

The occasion of the letter is Mauropous' candidacy for a bishopric. The *εὐφημία* and the *ἐπαινος* awarded to him by his addressee, despite all his protestations, seem to point to the qualifications that made him eligible for the office in the first place. The identity of the addressee, unfortunately, cannot be fully established. Most likely, he was a high ranking ecclesiastic who had obviously played a key role in Mauropous' nomination. He is addressed *θεοτίμητος* (line 1), a title usually reserved for bishops; cf. Lampe. The passage ἀλλ' ἐπίπερ, εὐ οἶδα, τοῖς ἀποστόλοις (line 28), further suggests that he had been fully empowered in this affair by someone else, possibly by the Patriarch; ὁ ὑμέτερος διδάσκαλος (line 29) seems at least to imply this. In which case, the addressee might well have been a bishop. Furthermore, the passage alludes to a biblical text (Mat. 21, 21; Joh. 14, 12) to illustrate, on the one hand, Mauropous' stubborn resistance, and, on the other, the extraordinary powers of his addressee.

17 ἐν δ' ὁμως ἔτι θορυβεῖ με καὶ θράττει: Cf. his *Epigr.* 91, 6-8, Bollig de Lagarde, 44, which seems to have been written upon the same occasion as this letter. Debating the prospect of his candidacy, Mauropous wrote:

πολλοὺς θρόνοι φέρουσιν ὑψηλοὺς ἄνω.

ἐγὼ δὲ γῆθεν ἔκπαλαι πεπλασμένος

εἰς γῆν τε νεύω καὶ κάτω ζητῶ μένειν...

There is an obvious connection between these verses and the above passage. In both, the prospect of his elevation to office is described as an ascent destined to failure.

But interestingly enough, Psellos too writes about Mauropous' «ascent» using the exact same metaphor, as if he had in mind at the time he was writing both Mauropous' letter and epigram. He is presenting Mauropous as unwilling to be brought forward and likens him to a bird that out of fear does not dare to fly (ὁ δὲ, ταχύ τι μὲν τὸ πτερόν ἠπλώκει, ὥσπερ δὲ δεδιῶς τὸν πολὺν ἄερα, αὔθις ἐπὶ τοῦ φωλεοῦ λανθάνων ἐμεμενήκει; *Encomium*, 155). Yet at the insist-

ence of the Emperor and the Patriarch he was elevated to office, an act described by Psellos as a flight of a young eagle (*ibid.*, p. 155).

Ep. 39. [To a provincial judge]

The man I am introducing to you was favoured in the past by your predecessor. You should receive him, then, in the manner to which he is accustomed.

The person, in all probability a tax collector, on whose behalf the letter was written had enjoyed the patronage of a previous provincial judge. Mauroπους seems to imply that in the provinces the occupants of new positions, as a rule, avoided altering the order which their predecessors had maintained. Thereby, the perquisites which their predecessors had come to enjoy were not diminished in any way. If that was the case, Mauroπους had a strong argument for his request. The letter suggests that the individual he was introducing expected to be financially accommodated by the newly appointed judge to this province: ὑπὸ σοῦ τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν ῥοπῆς μέρος εἰσπραττόμενος παρέστικ (line 10).

Ep. 40.

The petitioner seems to despise the help of relatives and of powerful friends, hoping instead to achieve his ends through this short letter. He also knows that you respect friendship more than authority. Comply, therefore, with his request.

2 ἐπιστόλιον: For the term, see Tomadakes, 33, 91.

Ep. 41. [To a government official]

You can tame an authority by trying to buy it off. Pay then what is due this power. By appealing to her appetite you will gain more.

1 Note the word play ἐξουσίαν - ἐξ οὐσίας, whereby Mauroπους by contrasting the words ἐξουσία and οὐσία assigns to the former, the «power/authority», a secondary role before «the essence/the real substance», which is in this case the endangered «property» of the addressee.

Ep. 42. [To a government official]

Do not construe my brevity and my small gift to be a fault. You know that I am neither loquacious nor open-handed. It is more appropriate for a modest man like me to forward a modest reply and a modest gift to a man such as you who knows how to talk a lot and to give away plenty.

1 The whole letter is conceived as a series of opposites and parallels: παῦρα-μάλα, βραχυλογία-πολύμυθος, μικρά-μικρόν, ὀλίγον-ὀλίγα etc. On the theme of brevity in epistolography, see the commentary on letter no. 17, 154-156.

Ep. 43.

I have been wanting to hear good news of you for some time now, but when your messenger came he overwhelmed me with your praise, not stopping until he left. I am indebted to you for the kindness you will show to him. I must inform you that, for reasons that are only known «to the wise steward of our affairs», I am soon leaving the City.

The last part of the letter is of special interest to us because of the information concerning Mauroπους' imminent departure from Constantinople. For this unexpected development in his life, hinted at for the first time in *Ep.* no 38, Mauroπους does not apparently wish to give an explanation in writing.

2 For the role of the messenger in byzantine epistolography, see the commentary on *Ep.* 2.

15 ὁ σοφὸς οἰκονόμος: implied is the Emperor Konstantinos IX Monomachos, who insisted upon Mauroπους' election to office; cf. Psellos, *Encomium*, 155. Mauroπους mentions him elsewhere in his writings, but always in the same obscure language (χάρις μὲν τῷ οὕτως οἰκονομήσαντι *Ep.* 45, 5; ὁ κρείττων ἐκράτησε καὶ ἡττηθέντας ἡμᾶς ὑπὸ πόδας ἔχει κειμένους *Epigr.* 50, 10-11). That he was forced to the bishopric, he states not only in his letters (cf. *Ep.* 48, 11), but also in his inaugural address to the people of Euchaita: ἤδη γὰρ τολμήσω νεανιεύσασθαι, τῇ ἀληθείᾳ θαρρήσας τὸ βιασθῆναι περὶ τὸν θρόνον καὶ τέλος ἐνδοῦναι (*Orat.* 184, p. 162).

Ep. 44.

That which the thunder forebode is certainly not good news to you or to us. As for me, it is not necessary to pay any attention to the omens now that my time has run out. That which was to happen, has already taken place.

To a concerned friend, disturbed by rumours about Mauropous' fate, this reply was definite: the matter of his removal from Constantinople (cf. *Ep. 43*) was settled and, as Mauropous put it, ἤδη γὰρ ὅπερ ἔδει γέγονέ τε καὶ γίνεται. His last phrase καὶ γίνεται might imply that his ordination had not yet taken place.

Ep. 45.

What I feared all along has now come to pass - the ordination, the bishopric, everything I dreaded, and wished at all costs to avoid. But since Providence is pleased, I am grateful. It is now, therefore, that I need your prayers and support more than ever before. As to the actual reason for my election, how it came about and why - you will hear about it soon, if you have not already, since the news is now spreading very fast.

We might have come nearer to the identity of the man who was behind Mauropous' ordination had he not decided at the last minute to change the subject, thus leaving his sentence incomplete: εἴτε τῇ προνοίᾳ τῶν ὀλῶν, εἴτε - οὐκ οἶδα ὅπως εἶπω... (line 4). This is, nonetheless, indicative that it was not divine Providence alone, which was responsible for his fate (cf. *Ep. 43*). As to the details of his investiture and the course of events that preceded it, the news was spreading quickly. With this statement Mauropous obviously meant that his case had created considerable sensation in Constantinople.

1 χειροθεσία: The χειροθεσία here can simply be a synonym for χειροτομία; cf. Lampe. As a *terminus technicus* it means, however, the ordination of the lower clergy. Mauropous seems to have employed it in its wider sense to indicate his ordination. The *prooimion* of the letter brings to mind the first lines of *Epigr. 92. 1-3, Bollig-de Lagarde 45*.

Ep. 46. [To a provincial judge]

You must be likened to a planet; that is more fitting to your profession. Provincial judges constantly move around, never settling in one place. You

should, therefore, return to the West of your own accord. As for the charges that I have levied against you concerning your unfriendliness, we can discuss them when you return.

Weiss, p. 38, has drawn from this passage, as well as from other sources, conclusions, about the difficulties inherent in the profession, at the time, of provincial judges and their constant moving from place to place.

18 τῆς ἀφιλίας - σιγῆς: On the motif of silence, connected here with the complaint of ἀφιλία, see Hunger, I, 221-222; Tomadakes, 109-111.

Ep. 47.

There is no doubt at all that it was God who delivered you so unexpectedly. The gifts that you have sent to me, along with your letter, show once more your usual generosity, and that your friendship remains unchanged despite the difficulties you have endured.

Ep. 48. [To a high ranking ecclesiastic]

The only news I am expecting to hear from the West, which thrives on contention, is that you are still enjoying good health. My health, however, is not so good, either physically or spiritually. Furthermore, life has become very difficult for me. The only thing that still comforts me is my freedom, my most treasured possession. But even this is in danger of being taken away from me, for they have imposed upon me thrones and ranks, altogether disrupting the quiet life to which I was accustomed. If you do not do something to help me, you will never see me again.

Mauropous is, at this time, somewhere east of Constantinople, still hoping to prevent his ordination by appealing to powerful friends like his addressee, a high-ranking ecclesiastic, to intervene on his behalf, εἴπερ ἄρα τοῦτο συμβαίη (line 20). The West, from which he expects nothing good, cannot be placed anywhere else but the Capital which is thriving in adversity. The place of his abode, nonetheless, cannot be determined, although it must have been at some distance from Constantinople if we are to take him literally when he writes καὶ βοήθει μακρόθεν τὴν ἀναγκαιοτάτην βοήθειαν (lines 17-18). Worth noting is his remark that he had been forced by an authority he fails to name to abandon the quiet life he enjoyed in order to embark on a promising ecclesiastical career: ἐπὶ τινὰς θρόνους καὶ βαθμῶν προκοπὰς τῆς ἐξουσίας βιαζομένης...

(lines 10-11). This same authority contested his right to maintain his quiet mode of life - μεταβολὴν ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἐπενεγκεῖν τῷ καθ' ἡμᾶς βίῳ φιλονεικούσης (lines 11-12).

In similar language charged with emotion Mauropous describes the same situation in a series of epigrams, nos. 89-93, written also on the eve of his elevation to office. Despite his protestations this same authority forced him to accept his nomination:

...καὶ τί γὰρ παθεῖν ἔδει,
εἰς τὸν δυνάστην ἐμπεσόντα τὸν μέγαν;
οὐκοῦν ἐκάμφθην. καὶ κρατηθεὶς εἰς ἅπαν,
ὑπῆλθον ἤδη τοῦ ζυγοῦ τὸ φορτίον,
καὶ μάρτυς εἰμὶ τοῦ πανισχύρου κράτους,
ὃ ῥᾶστα πᾶσαν ἐκβιάζεται φύσιν,
κἂν σκληρότης τις αὐτόχρομα τυγχάνοι. (*Epigr.* 93, 52-58,
Bollig-de Lagarde. 49).

The only one, however, who exercised such authority and dispensed such orders was the Emperor. Cf. Psellos, *Encomium*, p. 155: εἴθ' ἐκατέρωσε διαλαβόντες, ἔνθεν μὲν ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ, ἐκεῖθεν δὲ ὁ τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην ἰθύνει λαχών, ὁ μὲν ταῖς ἀνάγκαις, ὁ δὲ ταῖς ψήφοις, ὥσπερ δὴ ἀετιδῆ... ἐπὶ τοῦ τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης θρόνου τιθέασι καὶ ἐξαίρουσιν αὐτῷ ὥσπερ τινὶ κρείττονι τὰ εὐχάϊτα.

Ep. 49. To Michael

It is the hate for the people here, or perhaps the love for those around you that keeps you away from us. The latter seems more probable because I see no reason why you should hate your fellow countryman and associate. But as the saying goes, you have tasted the lotus fruit and forgotten your friends at home. In the man I am referring to you, you will see me; and in the manner you treat him, I will see my friend, Michael.

There is very little in this letter which supports Dräseke's attempt to connect it with the ecclesiastical events of the period 1053-1054; Dräseke, *Johannes Mauropous*, p. 486-487. There is also little support for Dräseke's hypothesis that Mauropous addressed this letter to Michael Keroularios and sent it to him with Michael Psellos. The addressee's name is indeed Michael but nowhere is it stated that he is an ecclesiastic. On the contrary, he is called an *archon*, a state official. Furthermore, it is not Mauropous who is away from home, as Dräseke maintains, but his correspondent. What seems more probable is that Mauro-

pous is writing to a friend, maybe a former student (line 4), who happens to be away from Constantinople and to whom he is referring someone seeking a favour.

Ep. 50. [To a high ranking ecclesiastic]

I never expected this turn of events that has brought about such a drastic change in my life despite all my efforts to resist it. Perhaps this is to remind me that we are not free to do as we please. The mightier has prevailed and his wise judgment has decided my destiny. I am in need of your prayers.

Before embarking upon his new career as Metropolitan of Euchaita Mauropous turned to a relative to ask for his support. Who this person was there is no way to determine. Perhaps the help which Mauropous desired from his relative concerned his forthcoming ordination, for he seems to allude to the ordination and the acclamation ἄγιος which the people raised at the ceremony consecrating their bishops (line 31); cf. *Bas. Ep.* 230; *Eus. h.e.* 6.29.4. Accordingly the words μηδ' ἐνταῦθα... τῶν σεαυτοῦ πρεσβείων ἐκστῆς... ἕως πείσεις καὶ κάμψεις (lines 25-28), seems to point to the desire of Mauropous to be ordained to office by the addressee. Yet the identity of the recipient of the letter is not disclosed, nor his rank or status. Mauropous refers to his seniority but in very obscure language, leaving us uncertain as to his position in the Church hierarchy (24ff).

11-12 ὁ κρείττων ἐκράτησε: cf. *Epigr.* 93,37, *Bollig de Lagarde*, 49.

16-17 πλεονεκτοῦμεν - ἀρρωστήμασιν: About his poor health Mauropous makes occasional remarks though avoiding to give any details (cf. *Ep.* 48). Nevertheless he believed that this handicap alone was reason enough to be spared the bishopric; cf. for instance his remarks in the inaugural address to the church of Euchaita, *Orat.* 184, *Bollig - de Lagarde*, 161.

Ep. 51. To Konstantinos [Psellos]

The Lydian did not go out to buy troubles, but the troubles have purchased and cast the Lydian upon dangers and tribulations. Indeed, he has been betrayed and sold out by you, his friends. You have abandoned a friend to his fate, having persuaded him that you care for him. But you actually disposed of him as if he were a burden to you, finding an excuse to send him away for no

reason at all. I now realize that my friends have abandoned me, although I have not forgotten them, as my letter and gift attest. Your friendship should be demonstrated by deeds too. My present situation, the result of your untimely involvement in my affairs, promises only anxiety and cares.

This letter must have been addressed to Konstantinos Psellos (cf. line 38). Also the comparison of Psellos to Hermes, which appears elsewhere in the letters, (cf. *Ep.* 23), is further evidence that Psellos must have been Mauroπους' addressee. Mauroπους' apparent bitterness concerning the Emperor's responsibility for his situation is also to be seen in other letters (cf. nos. 45, 48, 50). In this letter, however, he deplores Psellos' stand throughout the period of crisis. He levels against Psellos and his other friends some serious charges. He accuses them of abandoning him to an unpleasant fate and furthermore of contending self-righteously that they acted in his interest. He suggests furthermore that they have completely forgotten him and adding insult to injury they want to make him think that they are in fact helping him (lines 4-12). The only other source we have on Mauroπους' nomination is Psellos, *Encomium*, p. 154-155, and references in his correspondence with Mauroπους; see Karpozilos, *Μαυρόπους*, 38, 117. In his correspondence, Psellos tries to deemphasize his own involvement and give the impression that he had nothing at all to do with the election. Mauroπους, however, clearly alludes to his involvement.

19 ἀλλὰ σύνεστί τε διὰ τῆς μνήμης: Mauroπους here alludes to the often cited *topos* that, although away from his friend, he is still with him spiritually, and that time and distance cannot affect their bond. For the theory of friendship in epistolography and this particular *topos*, cf. Karlson, p. 34ff, 40ff. Tomadakes, 108-109.

24 Ἑρμαϊκοῖς σε δώροις: As proof that he has not forgotten him, Mauroπους is sending Psellos this letter containing Ἑρμαϊκὰ δῶρα, which should please Psellos, himself a τύπος Ἑρμοῦ. Yet the Ἑρμαϊκὰ δῶρα refer not to the dispatch of the letter alone, but to an actual gift of gold. This is evident from the remainder of the sentence, where gold is mentioned as an appropriate present to the other aspect of Hermes, the κερδῶς. One may conjecture that for the less enterprising aspect of Hermes' nature Mauroπους employed the attributes λογεῖον - γραμματεῖον, obviously the letter's stylistic and narrative dimensions. With a borrowed inference from Pindar, *Olymp.* 1, 1, Mauroπους asserts that the offering of gold to the κερδῶς Ἑρμῆς, that is to Psellos, will contribute in restoring their friendship. Yet Mauroπους' allusion to gold is not a rhetorical device (though it appears so in a letter of Gregory of Nyssa in

which Gregory compared his correspondent's letter to the pindaric gold; *Ep.* 14, *PG* 46, 1049-1052A; ed. Pasquali, 46.26-47.1-2), but a real gift of gold sent to Psellos in the hope of reviving their friendship. See also Karpozilos, *Μαυρόπους*, 116-118.

24 Ἑρμαϊκοῖς σε δώροις: The saying relates to the word ἔρμαιον, which in the *Souda* (Adler, 1, 2, 412), is defined as «τὸ ἀπροσδόκητον κέρδος. ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν τοῖς ὁδοῖς τιθεμένων ἀπαρχῶν, ἃς οἱ ὁδοιπόροι κατεσθίουσιν». Cf. also Salzman, *Sprichwörter*, 7. For the λόγιος Ἑρμῆς as patron of the orators and sophists, see S. Eitrem, *RE* VIII 781f.

25-26 λογεῖω - γραμματεῖω: For the designation of a letter as γραμματεῖον, see Tomadakes, 30. On the other hand, the term λογεῖον in the context it is used here implies the letter's stylistic dimension.

29-31 τὴν φιλίαν βλέπειν - εὖνοια: Mauroπους here alludes to the proverb τυφλοῦται περὶ τὸ φιλούμενον ὁ φιλῶν (*CPG* II 777). Interestingly enough the proverb is paraphrased in the same way by Psellos in a letter of his to Mauroπους, Sathas, *Ep.* 203, p. 496.

34-35 ἡ κλεπτικὴ - χαιρέτω: ἡ κλεπτικὴ τέχνη can only refer to Hermes in his role as God of thievery: cf. Karathanasis, *Sprichwörter und sprichwörtliche Redensarten des Altertums in den rhetorischen Schriften des Michael Psellos, des Eustathios und des Michael Choniates sowie in anderen rhetorischen Quellen des XII. Jahrhunderts*, Diss., Munich 1936, p. 22. The ἐναγώνιος or the art of rhetoric is also an attribute of Hermes, (cf. Pind. *Pyth.* 2, 10) as is Ἑρμιόνης (Hom. *Il.* 20.72; 24, 457, 679).

Ep. 52. [To a tax official]

Damned be those who consider me fortunate because I am invested with a bishopric. My investiture to office and all that it entails has made me wise. I had foreseen the vanity of all this and this was the reason I was forced rather than persuaded to office. Do not be aggravated then with those who marvel at your post in the provinces. To talk about our difficulties is comforting and reassuring, for we learn that we are not alone in our misfortunes.

8 καὶ διὰ τοῦτο βιασθέντες: cf. the discussion on *Eps.* 43, 48, 50.

16-22 The Aesopic fable λαγωὶ καὶ βάτραχοι (cf. Perry, *Aesopica* I, no. 138, p. 374) is alluded to by Mauroπους in order to show his correspondent

that his situation was not so grave as he maintained. On the contrary, Mauropous suggests that recent developments in his own career deserved more consideration and concern. Hence the fable of Aesop as a paradigm. We have no clue as to the identity of his correspondent. We know only that he was stationed somewhere in the provinces as a government official (line 11) and that he was disillusioned and dissatisfied with his position.

Ep. 53.

We know that virtue is not completely gone from the world for we still see some signs of it in our midst. Indeed, a man has come with good words and love. He is shown as a living example of Christ's discipleship, brought forward by divine Providence. Sceptical of this miracle, at first, I now rejoice and consider the man a dear friend.

A message full of sympathy for Mauropous provided the occasion for this letter. The writer was not one of his acquaintances. In fact, the two men never having met before explains the surprise in Mauropous' reply. In contrast to those who forgot him (cf. *Ep. 51*), the unexpected sympathy of this person moved Mauropous deeply.

Ep. 54. [To an ecclesiastic]

Among the many evils in which this country abounds, I had hoped to find at least one good, a rose among thorns, your holiness. This good, which I had hoped to find here, is now far away and the distance makes it impossible to enjoy. There is so much anguish in this place that even you, who are accustomed to such situations, would agree that it is indeed difficult to endure. Do not neglect therefore, to send your advice and guidance on matters concerning, which I lack experience.

Addressed to an ecclesiastic (line 3), the letter is written from Euchaïta, shortly after Mauropous' arrival. His first impression of the place is painted in bleak colours, which remained unchanged in subsequent letters throughout his residence there (*Eps. 60, 64-66*).

7-9 κατὰ μέσην - τῆ μνήμη κουφίζομαι: The separation is an obstacle for friendship, but the distance that keeps the friends apart is bridged by the μνήμη. On this theme and on the topos ἀπουσία - παρουσία, see Tomadakes. 108-109; Karlsson. 40-45; Hunger. I 224.

Ep. 55. [To a judge]

You have given freedom of speech to a meddling fellow, and, therefore, you should make amends. You should show mercy towards this ruined man whose entire fortune was lost. If you have any sympathy, show it to him by granting him your protection.

The letter discusses the plight of a financially ruined merchant. Mauropous intervened to secure on the man's behalf the sympathy of the addressee, who had been drawn into the case as a judge.

Ep. 56.

If you do not accept empty letters, do not read this one also for it reflects only the writer's poverty. Answer his simple letter and pity his misfortune and perhaps he will live long enough to repay you. But, alas, it seems you do not now possess the forbearance for which you formerly were known.

Ep. 57. To Ioannes

I love my friends without offering them any profit or advantage. But this is because of my poverty, not because of pettiness. Besides, expecting from friends something other than true friendship is like striking a bargain, and this is against my principles.

The subject here concerns some request which for some reason Mauropous was unable to comply with. The identity of the addressee remains unknown, except that his first name, Ioannes, is hinted at by the ἔχε οὖν ὁ ὁμώνυμος (line 8). The saying ἄσιτα κ' ἀδώρητα φορμίζω μέλη (Lycophr. *Alex.* 140) is appropriate to the fruitless reply that Mauropous sent.

Ep. 58. [To three former students]

My love is sincere and true and my loyalty needs no proof. With regard to your petition, I hesitate to say that it was rejected. However, the brother was urged to try again.

The letter is addressed to three former students of Mauropous of undisclosed identity. Whether they were blood brothers or associated in another sense, perhaps spiritual, is not indicated. Neither is their present position suggested, although they are designated as σοφοὶ καὶ λόγιοι, an appellation quite appropriate for teachers.

Ep. 59. [To an ecclesiastic]

Your wise advice and words of consolation have alleviated my sufferings. You are truly a man of God, a real treasury of his divine charity. I have sent another letter to our common despot; see that like my last it receives attention. I beg you to show your cooperation to my messenger so that I may hear a good report about you upon his return.

Lyubarsky, *Mikhail Psell*, 46, maintains that this letter was addressed to Psellos. Actually there is little in the text to support this supposition. We know only that the addressee of the letter had on an earlier occasion facilitated the delivery of a letter from Mauropous to their «common despot» and that it had received proper attention (lines 12-13). The κοινὸς δεσπότης could be the Emperor, as Lyubarsky suggests, but we have no reason to believe that it might not as well be the Patriarch, or, for that matter, any other high ranking official, since this appellation was not exclusively reserved for use by either the church or state. The fact that the person in question is referred to as κοινὸς δεσπότης could signify that the addressee, like Mauropous, was a man of the cloth. This seems more probable than Lyubarsky's supposition, since the biblical passage which Mauropous employed in order to praise the addressee's faith and charity could hardly be applied to Psellos, whom Mauropous, as a rule, praised more for his erudition than for his faith (*Ep.* 23, 5). Moreover, in this letter we have no elements of that familiarity which characterized the relationship of these two men.

Ep. 60. [To Michael Psellos?]

Now I do not have the leisure to speak with the wise ones any longer. Those meetings and discussions which I so much miss are now a thing of the past. The reality of the present is unpleasant and difficult. I lead now a completely different kind of existence. What makes matters worse is that I feel that my friends, even my dearest one, are not interested in me.

What occasioned this letter, which in all probability is addressed to Psellos (lines 3, 11-12), cannot clearly be established. The πολὺδακρυσ πόλεμος (line 5), refers to the difficulties Mauropous encountered in Euchaita. From other references in the letters we know that his relations with the people of the city were not particularly good (cf. *Ep.* 66 and also *Ep.* 80, Sathas, *MB V*, p. 313-314). The cause of his problems there, however, is not clear either. From Psellos we learn that Mauropous' opponents, all citizens of Euchaita, complained to the

Emperor Konstantinos IX and that the situation on that occasion was saved because of his timely intervention (Οἱ ἐκ τῶν Εὐχαϊτῶν... λύκοι γὰρ τυγχάνοντες γεγόνασιν. Ἐλύττησαν μὲν γὰρ καὶ τὰς γλώσσας αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὰς σάρκας ἐξέχεον (*Ep.* 80, Sathas, *ibid.*, 313). At the end the Emperor was persuaded by Psellos and dismissed the accusations against Mauropous; *ibid.*, p. 314. Lyubarsky, *Mikhail Psell*, 46. The unceremonious tone with which the letter begins rather suggests that it is part of a continuing dialogue. Possibly Mauropous is responding here to an earlier complaint of Psellos concerning his silence (cf. *Eps.* 227, 269, Kurtz-Drexler, 272-273, 314-315).

2-4 οὐκέτι - λόγους: The *topos* that men of letters should write and at the same time receive long letters in contrast to all the rest occurs in the correspondence of Libanius, *Ep.* 45, 5 (369 Forster), ed. Fatouros - Krischer, 110 and 373. Cf. also the request of Julian to his teacher Proairesius *Ep.* 26, ed. Weiss 68: ὑμῖν μὲν γὰρ πρέπει τοῖς σοφοῖς μακροῦς πάνυ καὶ μεγάλους ποιεῖσθαι τοὺς λόγους, ἡμῖν δὲ ἀρκεῖ καὶ τὰ βραχέα πρὸς ὑμᾶς.

13 καὶ μόνος - τραγωδῖαν: For a discussion of this passage, see the commentary on letter no. 63, 8-9.

Ep. 61. To Ioannes

Ioannes' letter was real and not a dream. And yet after six months I still fail to answer. I have been besieged by many problems and difficulties. Therefore, do not blame me for the delay and the injustice done to our friendship, but blame circumstances which were so adverse. Convey my friendship to colleagues and to the other three teachers. Sentenced, as I have been, to live in the world of Democritus, I am totally ignorant of your news.

The letter was written from Euchaita in reply to a letter received six months earlier (lines 4-5). The addressee, Ioannes, must have been a school teacher; the χορὸς τῶν μακάρων is in all probability a reference to his school. His colleagues, οἱ τε ἄλλοι συνάρχοντες, were likewise teachers, as were also the other individuals whom Mauropous singled out, ὁ ἔτι οἶμαι διδάσκαλος, ὁ δεῖνα τε καὶ ὁ δεῖνα (lines 17-18). The καλὸς καὶ σοφὸς Ἰωάννης (line 5) probably is Mauropous' friend Ioannes Xiphilinos. Xiphilinos' association with the School of Law which the Emperor Konstantinos IX Monomachos founded in Constantinople, is well known. If it could be shown that Mauropous actually speaks about this school and its teachers, then it would be safe to assume that the addressee was indeed Mauropous' close friend, Xiphilinos. Mauropous

feared that the teachers about whom he inquired might have faced a fate similar to his own, dismissal from the school and a resulting «new kind of existence». The river analogy τὸν Ἡρακλείτειον δεδοικῶς ποταμὸν (line 19) is obviously employed to illustrate the constant flux of events taking place at this time. He seems to refer specifically to the purges which the Emperor had begun in this period; cf. Psellos, *Chron.*, II 66f. If this supposition proves correct, Xiphilinos may be assumed to be the addressee. Furthermore, it may be adduced that he remained active in the school for a length of time following Mauropous' departure from Constantinople.

18 ὁ δεῖνά τε καὶ ὁ δεῖνα: The substitute of a name with the designation ὁ δεῖνα, as this letter proves, does not occur only in letters of recommendation; cf. the discussion on letter 15, line 4. There were other reasons as well that prompted Mauropous to avoid any mention of names. Most important of all, he wanted his letters to be read for their literary merit and not as a record of his correspondence. This also explains why all the names of his addressees are missing from his letters. That he took pains to observe this principle can be shown from the next letter, *Ep.* 62, line 2, where he refers to his addressees with the designation ὁ ἐμός τε καὶ ὁ ἐμός.

19 τὸν Ἡρακλείτειον δεδοικῶς ποταμὸν: Mauropous refers to Heraclitus' philosophical maxim ποταμῷ γὰρ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐμβῆναι δις τῷ αὐτῷ (Heracl. 91). This saying was understood to suggest the constant flux of all things.

21 ἐνὶ τυχόν τῶν Δημοκριτείων: Democritus was attacked by the Epicurean school for holding the view that only atoms and the void are real. Mauropous probably had this in mind; therefore, he compared his existence to the void which Democritus proposed as a dimension of the only true reality. (Cf. Democr. *Frag.* B 117, ed. Diels-Kranz). A rather similar thought is expressed by Psellos when he states in one of his letters, «τρόπον γοῦν τινα Δημόκριτός εἰμι καὶ Ἡράκλειτος, παρὰ μέρος γελῶν καὶ πενθῶν». *Epist.* 95, Kurtz-Drexl, 123,25-27; cf. also Nikephoros Gregoras. *Epist.* 4, ed. Bezdeki, 241, 26.

Ep. 62. [To two teachers]

I shall not overlook my dearest friends and most wise teachers, one because he was my mentor, the other because he, the holy one, is unique and in

him the school is embodied. Besides, there is a spiritual bond between us all. I have not addressed you separately because I have no leisure, nor do I find it necessary to do so. God willing, I shall write to each of you and also to my other friends.

The recipients of this letter were two former teachers of Mauropous. The information we have on his education is scarce. Psellos, *Encomium*, 143ff, mentions only that Mauropous' first teachers were two of his uncles and that he continued later his education with others. This letter does not disclose any significant details about the school he attended; neither does it give us the names of the teachers to whom he is writing. Although there is some ambiguity as to the exact meaning of lines 2-5, it is clear in any case that the two teachers referred to above taught in a school of their own. One seems to have been Mauropous' real mentor and to him, he says, he owed his learning. The other seems to have been the owner of the school (lines 2-5). Both teachers it seems were men of the cloth; hence their being addressed as ἀγιώτατοι (line 2).

2 μαῖστωρ: it was the common designation for teachers and in the eleventh and twelfth century this term referred to the teachers of church schools as well; cf. Speck, *Die Kaiserliche Universität*, 30, n. 10; 62, n. 31 and P. Lemerle, *Le Premier Humanisme Byzantine*, Paris 1971, 257, n. 45.

2 τὸν ἐμόν τε καὶ τὸν ἐμόν: see commentary on letter 61, line 18.

3-4 καθηγεμὼν καὶ διδάσκαλος: Mauropous, apart from the fact that he echoes a passage from Gregory Nazianzus (ἐπεὶ καὶ τῶν ἐμῶν λόγων αὕτη καθηγεμὼν καὶ διδάσκαλος... *Orat. XLIII PG* 36, 512A), here seems to have employed the words καθηγεμὼν - διδάσκαλος rather as synonyms and not in a technical sense, thereby making a distinction between two types of teachers, as is the case with these two terms in a letter of Julian the Apostate; *ep.* 61 (42), ed. J. Bidez, I, 2 Paris 1924, 75.16; Speck, *Die Kaiserliche Universität*, 10, n. 46.

Ep. 63.

It is most appropriate that a royal ornament should decorate the Queen City. She has embraced the virtues and wisdom with which the divine grace has endowed you, while I have been cast afar like rubbish. Nonetheless, I rejoice in your good fortune as a friend should. But do not try, as the tragedy says, to enjoy your well being alone, without communicating it, oblivious of your friends who are away from you and of their cares.

Ep. 63 occurs in three miscellaneous manuscripts which, among other items, transmit a part of the correspondence of Gregory of Nazianzus (*Paris. Gr.* 902, XIV c.; *Vatic. Chis. Gr.* 12, XV c.; *Vatic. Gr.* 869, XV c.). Yet surprisingly the same letter does not occur in any of the six major families of manuscripts that purport to preserve the correspondence of Gregory; see P. Gally, *Les Manuscrits des Lettres de Sainte Gregoire de Nazianze*, Paris 1957, 128. The letter is also transmitted by *Vatic. Gr.* 676, XI c. and *Atheniensis* 2429, XIV c., with Mauroπους' correspondence; both predate the three previously mentioned manuscripts of Gregory of Nazianzus. The question of the authorship of this letter has been briefly discussed by P. Gally, *Les Manuscrits*, 128-130; *Saint Gregoire de Nazianze Lettres I*, Paris 1964, XXXVI-XXXVIII, who concluded that the letter must have been written by Gregory to Nectarius his successor in the see of Constantinople, congratulating Nectarius for his elevation to office. The *Paris. Gr.* 902 bears in fact the heading πρὸς Νεκτάριον Κωνσταντινουπόλεως χειροτονηθέντα μετὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ ὑποχώρησιν. But how has this letter (*Ep.* 88 ed. Gally) slipped from the six major families of manuscripts preserving Gregory's correspondence? Its presence in three late manuscripts, reasons Gally, signifies that there had been another major source of Gregory's correspondence now lost. Mauroπους, on the other hand, could not be the author, Gally further argues, because he had no reason to write such a letter as this from Euchaita, since he was content with his position there. But Gally's reasoning does not appear to be at all correct, for even a casual perusal of Mauroπους' correspondence proves exactly the opposite. The content of the letter could fit precisely Mauroπους' situation as well. It further suggests that the letter was not written only to congratulate someone for being nominated to a new office. We must consider also the author's reminder to the addressee that while he prospered, he should be more mindful of his unlucky friend who was removed by unfortunate circumstances from the Queen City: κοινώνει δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ὅσα δεῖ τῶν ἐνταῦθα φροντίδων καὶ περιστάσεων τοῖς σοῖς ἀποδήμοις καὶ μὴ μόνος τὸ χρηστὸν ἀπολαβὼν ἔχε (lines 7-8).

Would Gregory have addressed Nectarius, a rather insignificant person, in this manner? It is also hard to explain in what sense Nectarius would have been considered a βασιλείον ἄγαλμα, in that he was a rather obscure figure and certainly not an intimate friend of Gregory. Comparing this letter to the others sent by Gregory to Nectarius (nos. 91, 151, 185 and 186, ed. Gally), we note that there are obvious and substantial stylistic differences. To be more specific, Gregory writes him not in such an intimate language, because his letters to him are more or less impersonal and rather formal. The «atmosphere» of *Ep.* 88 does not fit with any of the other four letters addressed to him. On the other hand,

there are stylistic similarities between this letter and another one by Mauroπους (*Ep.* 60):

Ep. 60. 12-14

καὶ μόνος τὸ χρηστὸν ἀπολαβὼν
ἔχει, κατὰ τὴν σοφὴν τραγωδίαν,
τῷ δὲ φίλῳ τῶν πόνων κοινωνεῖν
οὐκ ἀνέχεται...

Ep. 63. 8-10

καὶ μὴ μόνος τὸ χρηστὸν ἀπολαβὼν
ἔχε, τοῦτο δὴ τὸ τῶν τραγωδῶν, ἀλλὰ
καὶ τῶν πόνων ἐν μέρει συναντιλαμ-
βάνου τῷ φίλῳ...

The thematic affinity of *Ep.* 63 (*Ep.* 88 ed. Gally) with other letters of Mauroπους shows that he could have been as well the author of this letter. In fact, his plea to be remembered by his more fortunate friends while he lived in Euchaita constitutes a major theme in his correspondence (*Eps.* 51, 54, 67-69).

The matter of the authorship of *Ep.* 63 cannot be then so easily resolved; to be sure, not on the grounds alone that Gally has proposed. Notwithstanding the difficulties for an attribution of its authorship to one or the other, it is worth mentioning that in an oration of Psellos composed in honour of Theodora, the last in line of the Macedonian dynasty, the opening lines of his speech bear some resemblance to the opening lines of *Ep.* 63 (*Ep.* 88 ed. Gally):

Kurtz-Drexler, I, 1.1-3

Ἔδει ποτὲ τὴν εὐδαιμόνα ταύτην
πόλιν καὶ λαμπροτάτην... τὸν
οἰκεῖον κόσμον ὄλον ὄλην ἀπο-
λαβεῖν...

Ep. 63.1

Ἔδει τὸ βασιλείον ἄγαλμα τὴν βασιλί-
δα πόλιν κοσμεῖν...

Ep. 64. To the Patriarch [Michael Keroularios]

I think that my holy lord may wonder how and for what reason his servant could have continued so long in silence. But if he were to come and see this remote place and acquaint himself with the difficulties I have continually had to encounter here, he would be amazed that I am still alive. After having travelled for two months to get here, I was assaulted immediately and beset with all manner of evil storms. Now, after six months here, and reinforced by your prayers, I find that I can again keep my head above the waves. The messenger will explain everything. In case you insist, however, I will state briefly only that I have been received well. Yet the land is desolate, sparsely populated and poor. But it is your prayers that are what really matter to me and I treasure them above everything.

The exact circumstances which surrounded Mauroπους' arrival in Euchai-

ta are not discussed in this letter addressed to the Patriarch Michael Keroularios (1043-1058). Whatever they were, they left him greatly disappointed and disheartened. His journey lasted almost two months (line 10), an unusually long time considering the distance he had to cover. The difficulties which he describes so dramatically in the letter perhaps are not overexaggerated. The toils of his long journey, which seriously affected his health, are mentioned also in his inaugural speech to the people of Euchaita (ἡ τῆς ἄχρις ἡμῶν δυσχεροῦς καὶ μακρᾶς ὁδοιπορίας θλίψη καὶ κακοπάθεια... *Orat.* 184, Bollig - de Lagarde, 161).

He must have started his journey from Constantinople still in the winter time, a fact that explains all the hardships he had to endure, arriving in Euchaita in the early Spring of 1050. This is documented beyond any doubt by his inaugural address which was delivered on Easter Sunday of that year (ὡς εὐδόκησε σήμερον ἐν τῇ κυρίᾳ καὶ πρώτῃ καὶ μεγίστῃ ταύτῃ τῶν ἡμερῶν, ἦν αὐτὸς ἐδόξασεν... τῇ τῶν νεκρῶν ἀναστάσει... *Orat.* 184, p. 165). His first impression of the Church of Euchaita was positive and in his first speech to the faithful he expressed his satisfaction especially for the great pomp with which he was received by them (*Orat.* 184, pp. 164-165). The picture of Euchaita given in this letter does not agree with the one found in Mauropous' sermons; *Orat.* 180, p. 132; 184, p. 160. In the sermons, Mauropous describes Euchaita as a populous and rich city, although we cannot now verify its size during this period with any certainty. We only know that its annual feast of St. Theodore, the patron saint of Euchaita, attracted many pilgrims and merchants who brought with them a certain prosperity to the city; cf. Karpozilos, *Μαυρόπους*, 42-43.

58-62 ἀπό καρποῦ - ἐπιτήδεια: Built midway between the Halys and Iris rivers, Euchaita, observed Mauropous, produced satisfactory harvests of grain. But at the same time, he complained that the land was not productive for the cultivation of olive oil or for the vine. A similar complaint was voiced by Leo metropolitan of Synada in a letter to the Emperor Basil II: ἔλαιον γὰρ οὐ γεωργοῦμεν· τοῦτο κοινὸν τοῖς Ἀνατολικοῖς ἔχομεν πᾶσιν· οἶνον ἢ καθ' ἡμᾶς οὐ δίδωσιν, ὑψηλῆς καὶ ταχινῆς λαχούσα τῆς θέσεως. Darrouzès, *Epistoliers*, III, 43 198. The transport of salted fish or of fresh fruits from coastal centers to the interior is occasionally mentioned in the sources. But by the time the transport came to the market most of it was rotten to the disappointment of the more demanding customers; consider, for instance, the complaint of Gregorios Antiochos in a letter to Eustathios of Thessalonika: Darrouzès, *ByzSta* 24(1963) 65.33ff; Karpozilos *Realia*, 21. On the other hand, Nikolaos

Mesarites in his *Reisebericht* mentions that on his way to Nicaea he met in a place called Neakomis a mule caravan transporting salt fish carefully laid in baskets: καὶ ὁδοιπόροις συνομιλήσας, τεταριχευμένα ἰχθύδια δι' ἡμιόνων ἐπιφερομένοις φορταγωγῶν ἐπεστοιβασμένα καλαθίσκων ἐντός, ἵνα μὴ καὶ διαλυθῶσι πρὸς ἄλληλα προστριβόμενα ἐκ τῆς συνεχοῦς καὶ πολυῶρου μεταφορᾶς... A. Heisenberg, *Neue Quellen zur Geschichte des lateinischen Kaisertums und der Kirchenunion, Sitz. d. Bayer. Akad. der Wiss., Philolog. und hist. Klasse*, 1922, V, 45.21-24.

Ep. 65. To the Same

The coming of a courier here gives me the chance to address your holiness a second time. The opportunity is unique because so few people come through here, except for scourge-bearing lords, tax collectors and army recruiters. He will convey all that I wish to tell you, having witnessed the situation that exists in this place.

Mauropous gives the impression that Euchaita, except for the periodic visits of oppressive state officials, was completely cut off from the rest of the world during this time. However exaggerated such a claim may seem (consider, for instance his sermons which give us a totally different picture, nos. 180, 184) we must note that at this time the provinces, including the region around Euchaita, grew steadily alienated from Constantinople. One of the reasons for this increasing polarization was the systematic economic exploitation of them by the Capital; cf. N. Svoronos, *Remarques sur les Structures Économiques de l' Empire Byzantin au XIe Siècle*, *TM* 6(1976) 49-67, esp. 67, n. 66.

The work of the φορολόγος, tax collector, had to be authorized by the province judge. On the other hand, the στρατευτῆς was an official in the service of the λογοθέσιον τοῦ στρατιωτικοῦ, which was responsible for seeing that especially in times of emergency the people fulfilled their various obligations to the army. The στρατευτῆς as a subordinate official was primarily responsible for recruitment of men into the army; cf. Dölger, *Beiträge*, p. 21, n. 7; H. Glykatzi-Ahrweiler, *Recherches sur l' Administration de l' Empire Byzantin aux IX^e-XI^e Siècles*, *BCH* 84(1960) 17.

Ep. 66. To the Same

May my Lord rejoice in God as I have rejoiced in reading my Lord's letters. Neither my person nor my anointment make me worthy of his gift. He

that came witnessed the condition of the church and will supply the details that I omit. He will be able to testify on my behalf before my colleagues. His evidence will be especially valuable considering that they may have been mistakenly seduced by erroneous notions of the prosperity here. They should, however, be as careful as the *chartophylax*, who, on the pretext of humility, avoided this danger. But I trust - I have confidence in my faith - that your servant will soon be liberated from the scene of his tribulations.

The arrival of the envoy may be associated with Mauropous' preceding letters, which had been so full of bitter complaints. The presence of the Patriarch's envoy seems to have pacified Mauropous, who now began to entertain hopes of being soon relieved of his unpleasant situation which elsewhere he described as *πολύδακρυς πόλεμος* (*Ep.* 60, line 5). The gift of the Patriarch to him, mentioned in the letter (line 9), is probably the holy myron. The practice, to send as a blessing the holy myron, was customary not only for the Patriarch, but for bishops as well; cf. Karpozelos, *Realia*, 29.

10-12 τοῦδο ἤδη - ἔμοιγε: Mauropous here does not have in mind only the book of Psalms paraphrasing verse 132:2, but he has in fact borrowed a whole passage from Gregory of Nazianzus, changing only slightly the wording (*Orat.* XI, *PG* 35: 832 C):

<p>τοῦτο ἤδη σαφῶς ὑπὲρ τὴν ἀξίαν τὴν ἡμετέραν, καὶ μύρου τοῦ κοσμοῦντος ἀρχιερέως τε πάγωνα καὶ ὡαν ἐνδύματος πολὺ τιμιώτερον καὶ εὐωδέστερον ἔμοιγε.</p>	<p>τοῦτο μὲν ἤδη δῶρον θεοῦ, καὶ φανερῶς ὑπὲρ τὴν ἀξίαν τὴν ἡμετέραν... καὶ μύρου τοῦ κοσμοῦντος πάγωνά τε ἱερέως καὶ ὡαν ἐνδύματος εὐωδέστερον. <i>PG</i> 35: 832C.</p>
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19-20 πρὸς τὴν ψευδομένην ταύτην εὐημερίαν: In his first sermon to the Church of Euchaita, Mauropous emphasized that he did not secure his nomination with money neither did he have any interest in the richness of this province; *Orat.* 184, p. 162, 163.

Ep. 67. [To a metropolitan]

You will recall that as I was about to take leave of you, I predicted that my future would not be bright and that due to various difficulties my letters would arrive late. The difficulties I anticipated proved worse than I could imagine. I

hope this explains why I am late in writing. Please, present my letter along with this ordinary fruit offering to our holy Lord and see that I receive from him a favourable response.

16-17 πρὸς τὴν δεσποτικὴν-μακαριότητα: in all probability implied is the Patriarch Michael Keroularios.

19-20 τὴν αὐτῶν τε τούτων εἰσαγωγὴν: The introduction of a letter to high ranking officials or to the Emperor and the Patriarch through an intermediary was a common practice. Mauropous on more than one occasion asked Psellos to intervene on his behalf and introduce his letters to the Emperor; cf. *Eps.* 80, 182, 183, Sathas *MB* V, 314.3-6; 464.26-27; 465.6-9. On such an occasion, Psellos wrote back describing the effect of reading before the Emperor one of these letters: τὴν δὲ γε ἐπιστολήν σου, τὴν καλὴν ὁμοῦ καὶ σοφὴν, πολλάκις διεξελήλυθε, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἀρχαίους λόγους συνέκρινε· κἀγὼ σοι τὸ ὑπερέχον ἐμνηστευσάμην. *Ep.* 80, Sathas *MB* V, 314. 3-6.

20 τῆς φαυλοτάτης καρποφορίας: It is difficult to determine the nature of the gift Mauropous sent from Euchaita to the Patriarch. The word *καρποφορία*, however, should not be taken literally, i.e. bringing forth a gift of fruit, but in a wider sense. It could also mean - as in this case - an offering, perhaps, of gold; with this meaning it appears in the *Miracula S. Georgii*, ed. J.B. Aufhauser, Teub. 1913, II, 108-113.

Ep. 68.

There is an abundance of every kind of evil here; my only comforts are my faith in divine goodness and the possibility that I will be remembered by my good lords, particularly, by you. My friendship towards you, of course, is constant and shall remain unchanged for as long as I am able to retain my memory and senses.

This letter rehearses once more the familiar theme that contrary to having forgotten a valued friend and correspondent, the memory of this unidentifiable addressee is Mauropous' only comfort. For this theme in epistolography, cf. *Ep.* 54.

Ep. 69. [To a metropolitan]

I have seen you in a vision, I do not know where; I think it was in the Queen of Cities, but the memory will not come back. It was a magnificent vision of incomparable beauty, though it lasted not long. I know no time or place for it - its power, however, penetrates wall and stone as in the ancient myth, and overwhelms every obstacle.

The designation of the addressee as «μακαριώτατος» is equally applicable to metropolitans and patriarchs. Yet the fact that he had been a metropolitan is evident from the comment Mauroπους makes about him, that he had been actively involved in the synod and in the senate, distinguishing himself to some measure in both (line 28). The membership of ecclesiastics in the senate during the eleventh century is documented in the sources. The Patriarch, however, seems not to have belonged in the ranks of the senate; cf. A. Christophilopoulou, 'Η Σύγκλητος εἰς τὸ Βυζαντινὸν Κράτος, 'Επετηρὶς τοῦ 'Αρχαίου τῆς 'Ιστορίας τοῦ 'Ελληνικοῦ Δικαίου, 2(1949) 57ff. The dream to which Mauroπους devotes so much space is a pure invention, taken from the large depository of *topoi* in Greek Epistolography. It is linked with the «Aristophanes myth», (Plato, *Symposium*, 191A), which is alluded to briefly by the statement as ὁ παλαιὸς μῦθος. This *topos* is centered on the idea that true friendship is not bound by time and place; cf. Karlsson, 62 ff. The letter, as Mauroπους informs us, was written in the seventh month, in all probability after his arrival in Euchaita.

Ep. 70. [To Michael Psellos?]

Through the work of divine grace our friend, whom we thought formerly to be merely wise, is now also holy; so that if indeed among friends everything is common, we may pride ourselves in his two qualities as if they were our own. May these qualities be perpetuated, for they are indeed an ornament and a profit to us.

The addressee had decided to take up the monastic habit. Lyubarsky's supposition that the recipient of the letter should be identified with Psellos, whose sojourn at Olympos in Bithynia is dated ca. 1054, is open to question; J.N. Lyubarsky, *Psell v otnosenijach s sovremennikami*, Ioann Mavropod, Ioann Ksifilin, Konstantin Lichud, *Palestinskij Sbornik* 23(1971) 126. An allusion to Psellos' erudition, if Psellos is the recipient, might be seen perhaps in Mauroπους' remark that their friendship is profiting now that piety is added to Psellos' learning.

Ep. 71. [To a relative]

An attendant of a good master himself becomes good by imitation alone. It is therefore natural that you happen to be excellent in all things - in virtue, learning and in dignity. As to our friendship, we shall not betray it, for in addition to the love that binds us, we are linked also by ties of blood.

The only known relative of Mauroπους about whom there is some scanty information is a nephew by the name of Theodoros. He had been an imperial official (κοιτωνίτης καὶ βασιλικὸς νοτάριος), and the author of an *akolouthia* dedicated to the memory of Mauroπους, transmitted in a XIII/XIV c. manuscript; cf. Mercati, *Ufficio*, 347-369. For the position of κοιτωνίτης and βασιλικὸς νοτάριος, see Bury, *Administrative System*, 135, 139, 142, Oikonomidès, *Listes de Preseance*, 305, n. 93 points out that the office of the βασιλικὸς νοτάριος was connected also to the imperial *koiton*. In a letter Mauroπους once inquired about a nephew who had been placed under the tutorship of Psellos. Psellos' letter (Kurtz-Drexel no. 265, p. 310) is the response he wrote to the one by Mauroπους describing the nephew's progress. In another letter (Kurtz-Drexel no. 34, p. 56), Psellos wrote again about the nephew's progress as a student with him. It is possible that the ἀγαθὸς δεσπότης (line 1) under whom the recipient of the letter serves is a school teacher, perhaps Psellos himself.

Ep. 72. [To a metropolitan]

My eyes may not be able to behold you, except as in a spiritual encounter such as the dream I experienced a little while ago. I cherish this vision above everything else.

The recipient of the letter is the same as that of letter no. 69. Having not yet received a reply to his previous letter, Mauroπους wrote a second time with the hope of finally getting an answer.

Ep. 73.

Your suffering is exceedingly grievous, it cannot be denied; for grievous indeed and very painful is the death of a son to a loving father. The death of a son, young, mature and gifted in every respect. The loss is not grievous to the father alone but to those of us who are relatives and kinsmen - and to every one else who has known his goodness personally and by hearsay. Death is universal, some suffering it earlier, others later. He who orders death is our loving and wise Father, who knows better than we. Reflect upon these thoughts so that

along with your other virtues, you may be decorated with the crown of patience and perseverance.

This is a letter of condolence addressed to a father bereaved of his son. It is possible that Mauropous was related to the family of the deceased. In the first part of the letter (lines 1-11), the commiseration, Mauropous draws on the virtues of the deceased and emphasizes the loss suffered. A consolation follows (lines 12-33) on the nature of man and his ephemeral existence, and the letter concludes with an exhortation to the mourner (34-52). This rhetorical connection is observed by Demetrius and Libanius and in some of St. Basil's letters of consolation (cf. J. Mitchell, *Hermes* 96 (1968) 299-318). The consolation which Mauropous offers to his addressee is deeply rooted in the Christian belief of the immortality of the soul and reward for endurance for God's sake. His aim is to strengthen and maintain his addressee's faith in God's decrees, however difficult and painful they may be. The πάθος in the human nature from which man cannot be detached or rise above, Mauropous implies, is that which determines man's mortality (cf. Mitchell, p. 317).

Ep. 74. [To a youth]

What sort of a grammarian do we now have among us? Is he Sophoclean or Aristophanean? I myself would prefer him to be Aratean and close to the completion of his studies. Make haste then, because life is short and the Arts many. You must persist if you are to become perfect, worthy of the expectations and hopes of your family.

Behind Mauropous' questioning whether the youth be Sophoclean or Aristophanean might lie the more basic question of whether he was versed in the Sophoclean tragedies or the Aristophanean comedies and which of the two styles he preferred. Mauropous, however, preferred him as imitator of the poet Aratus of Soli (ca. 315-240), the editor of Homer, whose poetry would also give an elementary knowledge of astronomy; cf. N. G. Wilson, *Scholars of Byzantium*, London 1983, 152. The style which Aratus employed is known for its simplicity, sobriety and grace. Perhaps, Mauropous wished that the youth would imitate this stylistic simplicity. He might also have implied that Homer should not be neglected, but that one should become well versed in his epics that he might amend the text himself, as Aratus did. His corrections on the Homeric text became known as ἀράταιοι.

Mauropous addressed the youth as γραμματικός, that is as grammarian, the meaning of which is not altogether clear. Lemerle, *Le Premier Humanisme*,

100. n. 86, accepts the γραμματικός as a teacher, but with caution. Arguing against this opinion, Speck, *Die Kaiserliche Universität*, 63, n. 32 maintains that there is no precise term to characterize the functions of the γραμματικός. Mauropous seems to have employed the word with good-humored irony to flatter the scholarship of the youth. The curriculum of the ἐγκύκλιος παιδεία which the youth was about to finish must have covered the most basic subjects, including the *schedos* and the reading of Homeric and other poetry and rhetoric as well; cf. for instance, the testimony of Michael Psellos, *Chron.* I, 55. 2-3: οὐπω μὲν γενειάσκων, ἄρτι δὲ παραγγείλας εἰς τοὺς ποιητικοὺς λόγους... Mauropous' attitude towards the *schedographia* was rather negative (cf. Epigr. 33, Bollig - de Lagarde, 18-19; Karpozilos, *Μαυρόπουλος*, 91-94).

Ep. 75.

A friend has slipped by us without being spoken to or seen. I do not know why or with what excuse. I had hoped to receive him long ago not simply as a friend but as a lord. However, since he, our man, was chosen instead of me by our people, I consider myself not unfortunate. The lucky Paphlagonians have now the privilege of enjoying your benevolence, having prevailed over me in your favour, preferring your excellence.

Where and how Mauropous might have met his addressee is not indicated in the text. From this letter we assume that at one point, certainly before he retreated to the monastery of Saint John the Baptist of Petra, Mauropous was succeeded by someone else as Metropolitan of Euchaita, probably the recipient of the letter. When he wrote the letter the matter of his succession seems to have been settled; cf. Lyubarsky, K. Biografij Ioanna Mavropoda, *Byzantinobulgari-ca* 4(1973) 49. Mauropous ascribes to the people of Euchaita a decisive role in his removal from office. Yet the cause of his retreat from Euchaita is not mentioned, specifically whether or not it had come about as a result of a dispute with the Paphlagonians. We have, however, from another source a hint that Mauropous had faced certain problems in his province (cf. *Ep.* 60, 4 ff; also *Ep.* 80, Sathas MB V, 313-314). About who else was involved in his removal and for what interests, we are in the dark (cf. *Ep.* 66, 17 ff). Mauropous, appears to be, nonetheless, pleased with the final result. The remark that he had lost his see κατ' ἐπήρειαν καὶ φθόνον τοῦ πονηροῦ makes it clear that it was not by his own free will relieved of his duties nor in the manner he expected.

A different interpretation has been proposed by R. Anastasi, Giovanni Mauropode ep. 174 de Lagarde, *Studi di filologia Bizantina I*, Catania 1982, 1-7.

The Italian scholar believes that the letter was addressed to an *archon* and not to the successor of Mauropous in the see of Euchaita. Accordingly, the letter concerns a dispute in which Mauropous had been involved over the property of the monastery of Python. Without excluding this possibility, I believe that this letter is unrelated to this controversy (see the commentary on *Ep.* 60).

Ep. 76.

I would not deny that I love you, for you are worthy to be loved by everybody and particularly by me. That is, if you allow me the privilege, accorded a former teacher who led you to the pursuit of the goodness which made you so different from the rest. Having been influenced by this goodness you have now reached your present stage of advancement. May you reach even perfection, in case that you may now in some respect be short of it.

Ep. 77.

I think of you, even if I refrain from writing you. How could I ever forget our friendship, your family and your home where I often found hospitality. But drowned in difficulties and filled with disgust, I suffer now with nausea which makes me like those who are averse even to the most appetizing dish. In a more opportune time I shall try to compensate you for this omission.

It is significant that the last letter in this collection should close with this disillusionment. The letter gives us no hints as to Mauropous' whereabouts. It is possible that this particular letter was chosen on purpose to signify the end of one existence and the beginning of another. The lines from Gregory Nazianzus, his great example, ταυτὸν πάσχομεν τοῖς κακοσίτοις, οἱ ἐπειδὴν πρὸς τι τῶν βρωμάτων ἀηδισθῶσι... *Orat.* XXXI PG 36: 133C, though taken out of context, nevertheless underline his pessimism. In any case, this letter marks a turning point in his life; in all likelihood his retirement to the monastery of Saint John the Baptist of Petra in Constantinople.

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UNIDENTIFIED

ἤρετό τις ποτὲ τὸν ἐλέφαντα ποῦ τὰ γόνατα ἔχει· ὁ δὲ μελλήσας οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ τὴν κάμηλον δείξας «ἐν τοῖς ὀπισθοῖσις», εἶπεν, «ἐκείνης»· «τὸ γὰρ ἐλλείπον ἐμοί», φησὶν, «ἐπλεονέκτησεν αὐτή, δυσὶν ἀνθ' ἑνὸς ἐν τοῖς κατόπιν χρωμένῃ»: 17.18-21

ὁ τοῖς πλείστοις ἀρέσκει τῶν ὀξύτερον τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον ἐπεσκεμμένων: 18.74-75

τὸ παρὰ τοῖς ὄχλοις ἀδόμιμον ἐκ διορθώσεως σφάλμα: 18.97-98

ὡς που τις εἶπεν, ἀκαμάτους εἶναι καὶ ἀκηδέας: 21.39-40

τοσοῦτον ἐκείνης ὑστεροῦσα περὶ τὴν πίστιν ὅσον ἐν ταῖς μαρτυρίαις ἐκείνη τὸ ἀπαράγραπτον ὑπὸ τῆς παροιμίας προσμαρτυρεῖται: 28.24-25

ἐκ τῶν καθ' ὑμᾶς τάχα δὴ Ῥωμαϊκῶν θεσπισμάτων, ἃ τὸ βῆμα τοῖς πηροῖς ἀποκλείει: 28.28-29

τῆς ψυχῆς, τῆς λεπτοτάτης φύσει καὶ κούφης καὶ ἄνω φέρεσθαι πεφυκίας ὄθεν, ὡς λόγος, καὶ τὴν ἑαυτῆς ἔχει γένεσιν: 38.36-37

καὶ ὅτι ἐπέλιπον, (τοῦτο δὴ τὸ δημῶδες) οἱ φίλοι τῷ ἀποδήμῳ: 51.17-18

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